KASHMIR
THROUGH THE AGES



by

G. L. KAUL

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A Historical Survey

KASHMIR

THROUGH THE AGES

(5000 B.C. TO 1965 A.D.)

Illustrated

By

GWASHA LAL KAUL B.A.

1963

(Revised and enlarged)

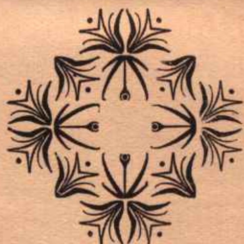
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

We regret misprints in the text inspite of our best efforts to avoid them. Errata given at the end of the book may be referred to.

APOLOGY

We regret to announce that Political map of Jammu & Kashmir has been deleted from this edition for the reason given below :-

Survey of India No. TB—3918/62—A—3/ dated June 5, 1963.

"The Government of India desires that the maps of India published in the Country.........should portray correct and reliable information particularly with regard to the External Boundary of India."

Publishers



THE AUTHOR

1923—1928 Press Representative".
1925 President Postmen's Union.
1928 President "Kashmir Youngmen's Club".
1931 Correspondent "A.P.I. & Reuters".
1932 Editor "Daily Martand".
1933 Vice President S.D. Youngmen's Association (Yuvak Sabha) Kashmir.
1934 Founder & Editor "The Kashmir Times".
1939 Founder & Editor "The Kashmir Chronicle".
1947 President "Kashmir Journalists' Association".
1948 Director of News, Radio Kashmir.
1949 Information Officer Jammu.
1950 Information Officer, Kashmir.
1954 Transmission Officer, All India Radio.
1957 Member, Regional Records Survey Committee (J. & K. Government).
1960 Back to Journalism.

"Think in this battered Caravanserai
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour and went his way."

—OMAR KHAYAM

Sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains
Now land, now lake and lands with forest crowned
Rocks, dens and caves.

—PARADISE LOST

FOREWORD

To write a history of Kashmir is indeed a difficult job, not because of the paucity of material needed for constructing it, but curiously enough, because of its abundance. To begin with, we might straightaway refer to Kalhana's Rajtarangini which has been written in 1149 A.D. This is the only work in ancient Indian literature which may be regarded as history in the true sense of the word. From Kalhana himself we learn that he had, before embarking on his job, taken great pains in ransacking all the then available material such as "the existing chronicles, writings of the sages like Nilamat-purana, ordinances (Shasana), inscriptions as well as other written records". About the main qualification of a historian Kalhana is positive that he should not allow himself to be swayed from the path of stating true facts by any sense of love or hatred. To this principle Kalhana has adhered with very great rigidity and strictness. He has shown great impartiality in his description of men and their affairs. The charge against Kalhana, however, is that before the beginning of eighth century his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and that his accounts before this period cannot be regarded as trustworthy. But it is added in the same breath that from eighth century onwards the Rajtarangini may be regarded as a reliable history of Kashmir. Even before eighth century, we find facts narrated by Kalhana, the correctness of which is borne out by local tradition, names of towns and villages and the excavations, of temples and Viharas and by the accounts of Chinese pilgrims like Huien Tsang (631 A.D.) and references to the records of other countries mainly China, which country owes its conversion to the Buddhist faith, chiefly to the labours of many a Kashmiri saint and savant who went there to spread the message of great Lord. Amazing corroboration to the authenticity of Kalhana has very recently, thanks to the labours of Mr. Vaidya, been found from an unknown quarter. In Rajtarangini we come across a warlike and powerful king Lalitaditya (697-733 A.D.) who is credited with

having subdued Kanikaboj and other parts of India such as Kalinga Puri, Karnata etc. He is also stated to have led an expedition to the north as well. There is no dearth of people who treat all this as nothing more than a colourful picture drawn by Kalhana of some minor victories which Lalitaditya may have scored over his less fortunate petty neighbouring chieftains. Even Stein, the famous translator of Rajtarangini, is of the same opinion. But nevertheless the corroboration comes from an amazingly reliable quarter. Now all of us know that the first Arab invasion of India took place in 712 A.D. Mohammad Bin Kasim led that expedition. The attack was made on Sindh which was then ruled by a king by name Dahar. A letter written in 712 A.D. by Dahar, the king of Sindh, to Mohammad Bin Kasim, finds place in Chhachanama which is a foreigner's account of the Arab invasion. In this letter the following passage occurs :—

> "If I had sent against you the king of Kashmir on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees" etc.

The king of Kashmir referred to here can be none other than Lalitaditya. It was he who ruled Kashmir in 712 A.D.

The value of this corroboration, coming as it is quite unexpectedly without any desire for interpolation, is indeed very immense. There are many passages in Rajtarangini which throw light on many obscure points in the history of Hindu Kabul as also on the nature of political and social connections which existed between the Punjab and Kabul; and the part played by Kashmir in Kabul affairs can also be gathered therefrom.

Rajtarangini was continued by Jona Raja, Shrivara, Praja Bhatta and Shuka—the last named brought it to the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar. There are, besides the above, other indigenous historians who have

written in Persian—the more famous amongst them being Haider Malik, Khawaja Azam, Pandit Narain Kaul, Pandit Birbal Kachru, Hassan, Mohammad Din Fauq and Pandit Hargopal Kaul. Pandit Anand Ram Pahalwan has carried down the history of Pandit Narain Kaul from 1712 A.D. to 1785 A.D. Pandits Narain Kaul and Birbal Kachru (who wrote history in 1835 A.D.) have given a critical and detailed account of the social, political and economic conditions of the people during their times.

Then there have been a number of foreign visitors who have left a detailed account of the country and its people. Huien Tsang (631 A.D.), O' Kong (759 A.D.), Abul Fazl (author of Aini Akbari), Bernier—the French Physician (who came with Aurangzab), Forrestor 1783 A.D. (during Afghan period), Moorecroft 1822 A.D., Baron Hugel 1835 A.D., Vigne etc. (during the Sikh period) are some out of many such visitors. Alberuni, the great Muslim scholar, who came to India with Mahmood Gaznavi, has also left a detailed account of the people of Kashmir. During recent times many Europeans have written books on Kashmir.

Then again we come across with reference to this country in (a) the annals of Tang dynasty of China (b) Aini Akbari (c) Tuzaki Jehangiri (d) Ferishta's history etc. Besides all this the general conditions of our people have been described in many books of literature. Reference may in this behalf be made to Kshemendra (11th Century) who was a great scholar and author of about 30 books. In his Despopdesa Mala and Narma Mala he has given a complete picture of the social and political conditions of the people of Kashmir in 11th century. He has described in detail the mode of Government and its corrupt bureaucracy and the intrigues that were rampant in the rank of subordinate services.

From the above it would become clear how immense is the task of writing a history of Kashmir. That would require a great labour and the material resources of the person who embarks on this enterprise

must be equally very great. But creditable indeed is the attempt of Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul who relying on his own scanty resources has produced a book on Kashmir history and has compressed a huge mass of material in a small but readable volume. The popularity of the book can be gathered from the fact that it has already gone through three editions. Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul has made the attempt— a very laudable attempt at that—but let us hope that it is not his last attempt. Before long we expect a book from the learned Pandit which would describe to us the general social conditions of our people including their laws, manners and customs they followed, through various stages of our history. He will also give us a general character of our mode of life and thinking in different epochs and will also analyse the various economic and social forces which gave rise to such ways of life and modes of thought. Rajtarangini can supply the material for such a research in an abundant measure. As already stated, there is a huge mass of religious and secular literature available which can greatly help in constructing such a history. Each age has left a complete picture of the life of the people in its literature. This can be exploited and a correct picture drawn.

Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul has set the ball rolling, and as a result, it is no wonder that interest in Kashmir history may be created elsewhere too. For the present we have only to wait and see.

(Justice) JIA LAL KILAM

JAMMU (TAWI)
January 29, 1953.

PREFACE

Just to answer a criticism. I have never claimed myself to be a historian. The book itself has been presented as a mere historical survay. That contemporary period has been dealt with rather in detail is in the fitness of things. The author has himself lived through it. A book written with limited personal resources cannot of course pose as a document of great authority. As the book moves from one edition to another errors noticed are removed and short comings made up. I don't so much welcome praise as I do criticism from kind reviewers and critics.

The main purpose of the book is to provide historical study in a compact form which is otherwise diffused. Kashmir must be known to one and all for obvious reasons. If that purpose is served the author will feel his labour amply rewarded.

Gwasha Lal Kaul

Srinagar
31-8-1963.

HISTORICAL LUMINARIES

1. Asoka.
2. Lalitaditya.
3. Avantivarman.
4. Zain-ul-Abdin.
5. Akbar.
6. Gulab Singh.



INTRODUCTION

To write a history of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the present day is almost an impertinence, for the literature to be explored is so extensive. Where the field is so wide and so much is still obscure, it must be that I have committed some errors. I shall be grateful to any of my readers for corrections as well as suggestions.

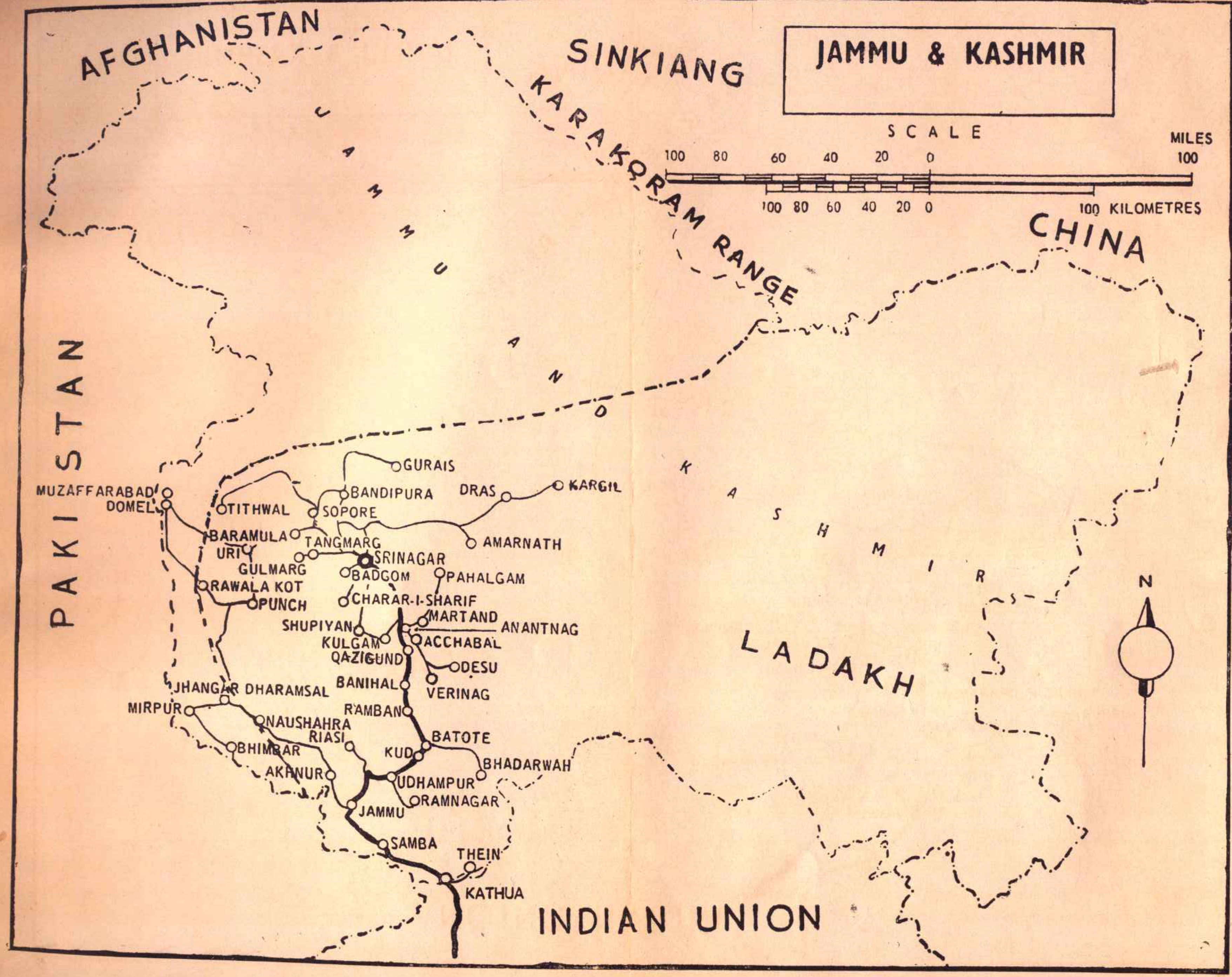
The history of Kashmir is more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. It is at the feet of following masters and other modern writers that I have drawn my inspiration to present a bird's eye-view for guidance of scholars :—

Kalhana Pandit, Jona Raja Pandit, Shrivara, Prajyabhata, Haider Malik, Mohammad Azim, Narayan Kaul, Hassan, Birbal Kachru, Dewan Kirpa Ram. Of these Kalhana's Rajtarangini is almost a revelation. Among the masterpieces of the world his history is also one. The history of Kashmir takes a different turn from 1931, particularly from 1947 when Dogra Rule collapsed as invasion advanced on the Kashmir soil.

For pre-historic period we get some clues from the remains of ancient buildings, religious books, ballads, folklore, coins and inscriptions.

History, critically studied, teaches one his duties as a citizen. It reveals the vices which cause nations and individuals to decline and fall, and the virtues which lead them to power and prosperity. It is, therefore, necessary that this science of sciences should never be ignored whatever the pursuit of life may be.

G. L. K.



"........While part of India, it (Kashmir) is in fact the heart of Asia and for countless ages great caravans have passed from India right upto Central Asia through this State...... I wonder how many people realise that Kashmir is further north than Tibet.........".

Jawaharlal Nehru.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND CREEDS OF KASHMIR

The territory known as the Jammu and Kashmir State lies between 32° and 37° N and 73° and 80° E. It is an almost entirely mountainous region with a strip of level land along with the Punjab border, and its mountains, valleys and lakes comprise some of the grandest sceneries of the world. The State may be divided physically into three areas; the upper, comprising the area drained by the river Indus and its tributaries; the middle, drained by the Jhelum and Kishanganga rivers; and the lower, consisting of the level strip along the southern border and its adjacent ranges of hills. The dividing lines between the three areas are the snowbound inner and outer Himalayan ranges known as the Zojila and the Panchal. The area of the State is 84,471 sq. miles. Beginning in the South where the great plain of the Punjab ends, it extends Northwards to the high Karakorum mountains where "the three empires meet".*

Briefly described, the State comprises the valleys of the three great rivers of Northern India, viz., the upper reaches of the Chenab and the Jhelum and the middle reaches of the Indus. The total population is 35,83,585 (1961 Census). No census was taken in 1951.

Within the boundaries of its mountainous walls dwells a population widely apart in creed but speaking a common tongue. It is necessary, at the outset, that we should form an idea of the main geographical conditions and leading creeds; for natural boundary, climate and creed had much to do with the course of the political history of the country.

Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by huge and thick mountainous walls. It occupies a place in the North-West of Hindustan. On the northern side it runs into the continent of Asia. To its west lies Afghanistan. The plains of Pakistan and Bharat look up to it from the south for a cool breeze. The

*Kashmir has 39 towns and 8,903 villages. The rural population is 35,03,929 and urban 3,62,314 (1941 Census).

Himalayan range which includes Chinese Tibet lies to its east.

Kashmir was once isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers and easy and rapid communication with other countries was impossible. It was not until the advent of the Dogras when the roads had been planned and metalled that there was a direct intercourse between Kashmir and the rest of the world. In fact, the two Trunk roads—Banihal Cart Road and the Jhelum Valley Road—are the greatest contribution of Dogra Rule to Kashmir.

We may distinguish two main land divisions of Kashmir, the Frontier and the Valley. The former consists of Gilgit and Ladakh on one side and Muzaffarabad on the other. The latter consists of two Wazarats—Baramulla and Anantnag—through which the Jhelum silently flows. The Frontier is a mountainous tract inhabited by hardy people who witness snow throughout the year. The Valley is a vast plain inhabited by peaceful agriculturists who grow maize and rice in summer and spin cloth in winter. The Pir Panchal, an entanglement of mountains, ravines and forests, often presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of the armies and delayed the spread of civilisation for years.

The Kashmir Valley is 84 miles long and 20-25 miles broad. It is over 5,000 ft. above the sea level. It consists of Madanarajya-Maraz (Anantnag Wazarat) and Kramarajya-Kamraj (Baramulla Wazarat). The city of Srinagar is popularly known as Yamurajya. Baramulla District is less productive than the Anantnag District. The city consumes all that is grown in the two districts.

The people of Kashmir enjoying a cool climate command a sound physique and we shall read hereafter of many great warriors and teachers who made Kashmir one of the important States of Hindustan.

The chief creeds are Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The earliest known inhabitants of Kashmir are the Hindus, the offsprings of the

ancient Aryans. It is out of this stock that subsequent conversions to Islam, Sikhism and Christianity were made. There are now 16,15,428 Muslims, 85,638 Hindus and 27,034 Sikhs living in the Valley. The Buddhists mostly live in Ladakh—(1941 Census).

The inhabitants of the valley are one of the most finely built people of the world and given proper breeding may compare favourably with the white races of the West. The Kashmiris belong to the Indo-Aryan ethnic type. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. Their stature is fairly tall, head long, nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

The Kashmiri language is a Prakrit. It sprang from an unaffiliated Apabhramsa. The term Prakrit is applied to all vernaculars and denoted a certain amount of phonetic decay as compared with the literary standards. People speaking Kashmiri tongue total nearly 15,49,460—(1941 Census).

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CHAPTER II

KALHANA

Kalhana was probably the son of Canpaka, the great Kashmirian Minister under Harsha. Born of a prosperous family he took to learning. Brahmin by caste and worshipper of Saiva cult, he still admired Buddhism. The chronicle he has bequeathed to us is written in verse. The introduction was attempted in 1148-49 or Saka 1070 and the work was completed in the year following. The writings of Suvrata, Kshemendra Padmamihara, Nilmatta, Halaraja and Chavilakara must have proved of immense help to him for information about early times.* Kalhana says, "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by force of soldiers" and it has proved correct.

It may be that Kalhana has sometimes suppressed and sometimes exaggerated things but his delineation of events suffers nowhere from dereliction.

It may be proudly said that while India was poor at history at one time it is Kashmir that gave a lead. Many a scholar has received inspiration from Kalhana from time to time. He cannot distinguish between the legendary and genuine elements of tradition.

The great historian flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was the ruler of Kashmir.

Rajtarangini, his memorable work, will ever continue to be a source of great interest to the world's historians. This book is unique in the literatures of the world.

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*Unfortunately their works are unavailable at present probably because the Rajtarangini supplanted them. But as Kalhana has given up their version in several places it would have been most useful for us to see what their version was and how far that version corresponded with other facts and with modern views. However, regret is of no avail. Stein who has studied the work most carefully opines that Kalhana's history is reliable. Kalhana says that he has got his statement verified by grants, inscriptions and other records. We may, therefore, safely follow him assisted by Huien Tsang, Chhachanama and such historical data as may elsewhere be available. The study made by R. S. Pandit in his memorable book is also a useful guidance—"River of Kings."

Kalhana's task was continued by other scholars. Jonaraja Rajavali wrote Rajtarangini upto 1459, Shrivara upto 1486, Prajabhatta upto 1512, Shaka upto 1596.

Rajtarangini was translated into Persian in the time of Zain-ul-Abdin and Akbar. Stein's English translation appeared in 1892-1904.

"Kalhana's life-time coincides with one of the most turbulent periods in Kashmir's political history. Events affecting the destinies of ruling dynasties and the welfare of the people happened in quicker succession. Had it not been for Kalhana's chronicle we should have known very little about them. King Harsha (1089 to 1101 A.D.) by his own ill-tempered and ill-conceived actions, let loose a stream of tragic events, resulting in untold suffering and confusion. A luxurious court maintained out of all proportions to the financial resources of his government compelled him to impose heavy fiscal exactions and appropriate the assets of the landed aristocracy as well as some religious institutions. These events had their inevitable reactions. Kalhana's picturesque narrative shows how profoundly these influenced his entire outlook on society and contemporary affairs. His descriptions mirror his own personality.

"The high position which Kalhana's family occupied apparently gave him the necessary scope for intimate personal contacts with the leading men of his own time. While he maintains a studied reticence about himself, he tries to view the world around him, so troubled and confused, with an observant eye and an open mind which are essential for a chronicler. His insight into human nature is penetrating and his intimate acquaintance with his country's geography and material conditions seems to be surprisingly accurate for a poet. He portrays the men and events of his time not only in their individual manifestations but in their social and historical settings. The kings, the nobles, the priests, the merchants and the general

mass of people all receive their due share of comment at his hands. His analysis of social factors that influenced the political events of his time appears to be very accurate indeed.

"The Damaras, as the landed aristocracy of Kashmir were known in those days, constituted a powerful political factor. King Harsha had decided to suppress them. There was a complicated network of intrigues and counter-intrigues aimed at political supremacy for which Kalhana shows the utmost disgust. This state of affairs eventually led to the armed rebellion of the persecuted and disgruntled nobles who, under the leadership of two brothers, Uccala and Sussala of the royal family, succeeded in deposing the king, later assassinated. The rise of the Damaras to power made political confusion worse confounded. Intrigues between rival groups persisted and armed revolt by several pretenders to the throne rendered Kashmir's politics most confusing. Kalhana narrates these events with visible pain and disgust. The violent deposition of Harsha had its repercussions on the fortunes of Kalhana's family. Canpaka never entered politics again. He lived for more than thirty years after his retirement from public life. Kalhana appears to have been young at the time. But being very independent and sensitive, he never aspired for any office under any of the rulers. He was too proud to stoop for favours. When he began to write his Chronicle (1148-49 A.D.), Jayasinha, the son of usurper Sussala, was ruling ; Kalhana did not conceal his contempt for Jayasinha's character. He denounces Sussala's wanton cruelties and avarice, but showers high praise on the valour and heroism of Bhikshachara, a pretender whose political ambitions, however, he does not hesitate to condemn.

"Kalhana's remarks about the character of his countrymen are such as only a man endowed with a keen, observant and critical eye, could make. He shows positive aversion for the Damaras as a class. He calls them 'robbers.' Though son of a high and

respected official, he shows no enthusiasm for that class. He speaks of their degrading vices with evident relish. Although proud of his birth as a Brahmin, he had an undisguised contempt for the Purohits or priestly class who, we understand, had organised themselves into Parishads or associations at all important centres of pilgrimage. Their ignorance, arrogance and baneful interference in the affairs of the State are portrayed by Kalhana with a biting satire sprinkled frequently with humour and criticism. He testifies to the peace-loving nature of the citizen, who during all these turbulent years, appears to have remained calm and serene.

"We know Kalhana only by the Rajtarangini. Of his other literary achievements we know very little. He lived at a time when Hindu religion and culture assumed a highly conventional form. Classes and castes had long been crystallized. Political institutions bore the stamp of a feudal monarchy dominated by interested social groups. The citizens at large lived their normal life, practically unruffled by political events. Kalhana's own education and upbringing, therefore, could not have been anything but conventional. But he always maintained detached and impartial outlook while delineating the men and institutions of his time. His approach was essentially human. The fact that at no time did he aspire for the patronage of any king or class enabled him to maintain a robust individualism. His painstaking scholarship and love for detail helped him to bequeath to posterity an invaluable historical document of rare literary merit. About his own narrative Kalhana says : "Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplifications, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded."

RAJTARANGINI

"Now the present period of Vaivasvata Manu had come, the Prajapati Kasyapa induced the gods Druhina, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and having caused Jalodbhava who resided in it to be slain, founded upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kashmir.

"It is the territory which he under the protection of Nila, supreme lord of all the Nagas, whose parasol is the swelling Nila Kunda with the following waters of the Vitasta for its staff.

"Where Parvati who adores Guha and whose copious milk is drunk by the elephant-faced Ganesa although she has converted herself into the Vitasta, which turns her face towards lowlying lands and whose abundant waters are drunk in mouthfuls by the Nagas, does not abandon her natural impulse.

"It is the resort of the Nagas, prominent among whom were Sankha and Padma, like the city of the Giver of Wealth, of the guardians of treasure.

"It has, forsooth, stretched forth on their back its arms in the guise of its mountain ramparts for the safeguarding of the Nagas who had approached from terror of Garuda.

"Where within the sanctuary of Papasudana those who touch the husband of Uma in wooden form secure for reward the pleasure of life and liberation.

"Where on a waterless hill the goddess of Twilight is in possession of water which is the ocular demonstration of the presence of piety and the absence of sin.

"Where the self-originating Fire emerging from the womb of the Earth accepts with many arms of flame the votive offering of the sacrifices.

"Where the goddess Saraswati herself may be seen in the form of a swan in a lake on the peak of the Bheda mountain which is hallowed by the rise of the Ganga.

"Where in the shrine—the residence of Shiva at Nandiksetra are to be seen to this day the drops of the votive sandal emollient offered by the celestials.

"In the country adorned by Chakrabhat, Vijayesa, Adikesava and Isana there is not even so much land as can be covered by a sesame seed which is profane.

"Such is Kashmir, the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force; where the inhabitants in consequence fear more the next world; where there are not baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river-banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril, where realising that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like—what is a common place there is difficult to secure in paradise.

"It is a history and it is a poem, though the two perhaps go ill together ... Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years but the early part is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of mediaeval times and often enough it is not a pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main, it is a story of the kings and the royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk—indeed the very name is the 'River of Kings'.

"And yet Kalhana's book is something far more than a record of kings' doings. It is a rich store-house of information political, social and to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty upto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal armours and intrigues and of

fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Meghavahana's curious attempt to spread non-violence also by conquests; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

"It was a time when the old economic system was decaying, the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been a meeting ground of different cultures of Asia, the western Greco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian, but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions. And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out, but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. Warlords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—Kalhana describes Kashmir as 'a country which delighted in insurrection,' and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough, because of its mountain fastnesses, to withstand and repulse Mahmood of Ghazni, the great conqueror who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and built up an empire in Central Asia. It was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external

conquest, but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim official of the last Hindu ruler Queen Kota."

—JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

(*Reproduced from R.S. Pandit's Translation of Rajtarangini*)

CHAPTER III

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

The early history of Kashmir like the birth of James Yellow plush and many other events is 'wrapped up in mystery.'*

Tradition has it that once the valley of Kashmir was a big lake called the Satisar i.e. the lake of Sati (Durga). In it dwelt numerous Pishachas, Yakshas and Nagas headed by a ferocious demon whose name was Jaldeo or Jaludhar. (Prajapati) Kashyapa, a great sage, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma (the creator of the whole Universe according to the Hindu Pantheon), practised penance for a long time. The gods Druhina, Upendra and Rudra felt compassion for him. At last the goddess Sharika (the guardian deity of many devotees) moved by pity appeared in the form of a *myna* (Sparrow) carrying in her beak a pebble which she threw upon this wicked demon who was a nuisance to humanity. That pebble grew into the Hari Parbat hill of today, the Olympus of the Hindus. Thereafter the whole water was drained off across a hole in the earth near Baramula (the furrow of the Boar).[1] Since then the land which thus emerged out of water came to be known as Kashyapamar or Kashmir after the famous sage Kashyapa to whom the term 'Rock of Ages' may fitly be applied. Kashyapa did not live alone in this land. He invited people from the plains to settle here. They came every year in hordes and left again at the approach of winter to re-appear again in spring time. Living in winter here in those days was extremely difficult. At this time Nila Nag (Kashyapa's son), the Lord of Serpents, came to the rescue and advised people to appease the demons by giving them

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*Thakeray.

1. Some maintain that in early times it was the dwelling place of Vishnu in his Primeval Boar incarnation. Others are of opinion

offerings.[2] Such, according to the tradition, is the origin of this beautiful land which is attracting thousands of tourists every year. The existence of too much water appears to be an attestation of the existence of the lake which is so nicely wrapped up in fiction.[3]

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that Parvati who lives in the mountain Haramuk used to sail her boat in the lake now called Wular.

2. These offerings have survived to this day. In winter particularly Hindus of Kashmir prepare special dishes on prescribed days which they offer to demons. Gadbatta, Khichrimawas, Kaupunim and so on, may be traced to these times.

3. Mythology and science speak with almost one voice regarding the lacustrine origin of Kashmir, the "Paradise on Earth". To interpret this strange saga scientifically it is very necessary to delve deep into mythology first which is recorded in the oldest extant Sanskrit manuscript, the "Nilamatapurana" and in certain other Buddhist and Puranic literature.

According to the Nilamatapurana, "Kashmir is Parvati"—that is, the great Goddess Sati—"the real daughter of the Himalayas gave her body to be that sacred Kashmir." In days of yore, it was a "transparent lake called Satidesa, the Land of Sati, the heart-ravishing playground of the gods." The "cold pure water" of this mountain lake was "deep as the sky", and completely free from obnoxious water-dwelling creatures.

One morning when the gods were in a playful mood, however, there appeared the demon Sangrahasura, who espied Sachi, Indra's consort, amidst the heavenly host. Struck by her beauty Sangrahasura's seed fell into the lake which sprouted one day in the form of a bony babe who was brought up by the celestial folk of Kashmir, the Nagas. He was named Jalodbhava, which in Sanskrit denotes one who has taken birth from water

The child Jalodbhava grew up to be a giant cannibalistic fiend whose depredations knew no bounds. Before embarking upon his reign of terror, however, he obtained the boon of invulnerability in water from Brahma, the Creator, after performing rigorous penance. After pillaging the mountain hamlets of the Nagas, Jalodbhava would dive deep into the safe sanctuary of the Satisara where no harm could be done to him.

Terror reigned in the "Land of Parvati", and wanton destruction was the rule rather than the exception. Desperate, the Nagas repaired in a body to their guardian, Nila Naga, and prayed to him to make Kashmir safe to live in.

After giving a patient hearing to their pathetic plaint, Nila Naga decided to approach his father, Rishi Kashyapa, who was born of the mind of Brahma, for help against the "water-born" demon. Rishi Kashyapa at that moment was on a pilgrimage in India. When he reached Hardwar, Nila Naga approached him and brought to his notice that he had travelled east, south and west, and he had yet to come to the north—Kashmir, the Crown of the Cosmic Circle—to complete his great circumambulation. Of course, Kashyapa had the premeditated intention to complete his pilgrimage of the Cosmic Circle by visiting Kashmir. The sage was delighted to finish the last lap of his pilgrimage in the company of his son, Nila Naga.

After reaching Jammu, the "outer cycle" of the great Kashmiri Cosmic Circle, Kashyapa was amazed at the havoc wrought in the country-side. He found every place he visited desolate and deserted. The Jammu area, it may be mentioned, was part of Nila Naga's protectorate. After learning the cause of the desolation, Kashyapa exclaimed, "Something must be done about this atonce."

When the final doom of the awesome leviathan Jalodbhava was decided on, however, it was Sri or Lakshmi, the consort of Lord Vishnu—who voluntarily undertook to put an end to the menace. It is said that she assumed the form of a Sarika (Sanskrit for myna). This Sarika carried a tiny pebble in her bill, which was especially endowed. She dropped this on the "water-born" demon of the inland sea whom she despised from a great height.

Jalodbhava frantically shook himself in a titanic effort to dislodge the pebble from his body ; but his efforts were in vain, for it had become embedded in his flesh. In a flash, growing in girth and weight, this tiny pebble became a hillock which crushed Jalodbhava to death.

It is said that hillock is Sarikaparvata (the Hillock of Sarika or Sri or Lakshmi), now known as Hari Parbat (*Har* in Kashmiri means a myna or Sarika). With Akbar's fort which crowns it, the serpent-shaped hillock is a prominent landmark of Srinagar. On a slope of the hillock is the shrine of Sarika which was built in homage to the goddess for her deliverance of the people. A noteworthy feature of this hillock is that on the slopes or in the environs of it are to be found Hindu, Muslim and Sikh shrines, which fact attests to its sanctity.

Earlier, before the drama of the pebble was enacted in the 1,600 square-mile arena of the Satisar, Siva—the lord of the Involutionary Forces—fared forth from his dizzy haunt, Kailasa. He was clad in a doeskin loincloth armed with a mighty trident and besmeared with ashes. He threw the trident with such great force that the Baramulla side of the Kashmir mountain was ripped open, providing an outlet to the imprisoned waters and depriving Jalodbhava of the only source of his sustenance. It was later that Sarika dropped the pebble that crushed Jalodbhava to death.

For this great service which Kashyapa rendered to the vale it was named after him—Kashyapa Mar, the abode of Kashyapa which has now degenerated into Kashmir.

Be that as it may, science tells us almost the same story. Eminent geologists who have surveyed the valley opine that the mountain on the western side had a weak spot, technically known as a fault. The increasing pressure of the inland sea may have forced this spot to yield. According to a noted geologist Drew, the depth of the lake could not have been short of 2,000 feet.

Another theory which is supported more by facts and figures is the action of seismic explosions which must have sent to smithereens the mighty mountain on the Baramulla side. In this connection, Dr. Francois Bernier, the French traveller, who accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir, writes : "I rather imagine that the mountain sank in some subterranean cavern, which was disclosed by a violent earthquake not uncommon in these countries". Bernier's theory has much in its favour.

Pandit Kalhana, the poet-historian of Kashmir, frequently refers to earthquakes in his classic chronicle, the 7,844 verse Rajtarangini. Severe earthquakes shook Kashmir in 1552 and 1680 A.D. On the fateful day of June 26, 1828, a terrific earthquake destroyed 12,000 houses. One thousand persons died in this calamity. Another severe shock was felt in Baramulla on May 30, 1885. Three-fourths of the houses of Baramulla Town were totally destroyed. The shock which was felt over an

Another account is available according to which Balbhadra, the brother of Vishnu, drained the lake with his ploughshare, whereupon Vishnu slew the demon. Geologists corroborate the story only so far as the existence of the Lake. Traces of beaches on the mountain sides, flat and uniformly even surface of the plateaus, existence of fresh water, fishes and fossil oysterblack shells of the water, chestnut etc.

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area of 500 square miles destroyed 20,000 houses, killing 30,000 heads of cattle and 3,000 human beings.

But from where did the waters come that were imprisoned among the mountains. They were obviously the remains of the great Glacial Ages of the earth. During those Ice Ages—four times have the continental glaciers crunched down from the north and four times have they receded—the polar ice cap advanced far south of the Arctic. The great mountain chains of Asia and Europe including the Himalayas and the Alps were heavily iced, and became seamed with gigantic glaciers which stretched to the edges of the plains.

Some of the glaciers got encased among the mountains of Kashmir when the ice cap of the earth began gradually to recede towards the north for the fourth and the last time some 10,000 years ago. With the end of the long winter of the earth, the glaciers entrapped in Kashmir began to melt forming the Satisar or the primordial lake that became the Arcadian valley, when it was drained by elemental forces.

—Iqbal Kaul

Looking at the valley of Kashmir surrounded as it is by high mountains, which even today are sparsely inhabited, it is hard to understand how Sangrahasura's seed which fell into the lake was brought up by the "celestial folk of Kashmir," the Nagas, who could not obviously be there in the winter.

It is, however, futile to go into the story, for both from the mythical and the scientific standpoints, it is clear that Kashmir could not have had "celestial folk" of its own. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that they must have come from the other side of the southern mountains, and must have entered the valley when the water dried up. The entire region from Garhwal to Poonch has an unbroken cultural background, known to be that of the ancient ethnic Nagas, who have been mentioned as early as in the Mahabharata and described as "worshippers of serpents," by historians who came in the wake of Alexander's incursion. They are also represented in Buddhist paintings as having embraced Buddhism, and there are traces of Buddhistic influence extant in this region.

Owing to the peculiar geographical features of the countryside, the Nagas, however, were not a strong and united people. That under the guidance of Kashyapa they first colonised the vale of Kashmir is clear from the story. It is, therefore, fallacious to say that Jammu was colonised by the Nagas of Jammu under the leadership of Kashyapa. Kashmir has ever since been gradually adopting the religion of the people of its southern neighbours, a conjecture confirmed by the predominance of traits of Saivism and Shaktaism among the Kashmiri Hindus. Kashmir's fall to Mohammadanism is of rather recent origin and not in a small degree due to the fact that Kashmir had lost contact with the people of Jammu.

—J. C. Sathe

indicate a flurial origin. The name of Kashmir also implies "land desiccated from water," (Sanskrit ka water, *Shimira* to desiccate). In Puranas Kashmir is called *Garek* (hill).* The ancient Greeks called it Kashpeiria. Herodotus mentions it as Kashyapatros while Hakatatus calls it by the name of Kaspalyros or Kashyapatros. It is called Shie-mi in the narrative of To Yeng and Sung You (578 A.D.). Huien Tsiang calls it Kia-shi-mi-lo.

*Kashmir—*kas* channel *mir* mountain—a deep trough with rocky walls.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HINDUS

History is always continuous. There can be no fresh start. The real history of Kashmir begins probably from five thousand years before Christ. It is said that Sri Ram Chandra, the conqueror of Lanka, was the first king who established a kingdom in Kashmir but there is no authentic evidence in proof of this though various shrines named after him exist to this day. For about six hundred and thirty-three years Dayakaran and his fifty-five successors are said to have ruled in Kashmir. Somdatta was probably last of the line.

The Rajtarangini opens with the name of the glorious king of Kashmir, Gonanda I, 'worshipped by the region which Kailasa lights up and which the tossing Ganga clothes with a soft garment' who came to the throne of Kashmir in about 3,121 B.C. Kalhana disputes it. He maintains that Gonanda became king in 2448 B.C. (653 Kali).* Professor Wilson places him on the throne in about 1400 B.C. Some suggest 1710 B.C. as the probable date while others are of opinion that he flourished about twenty years before the Mahabharata.[1]

Gonanda was a relative of Raja Jarasand who gave a battle to Lord Krishna. Gonanda went to his succour but was assassinated near about Mathura.

Gonanda I was succeeded by his son Damodara I. He also waged war against Krishna during the Svayamvara celebrations of Raja Gandhar's daughter but was killed. Sri Krishna then gave the throne to his pregnant wife (Yasovati was her name) and when the posthumous

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*The Kali era is supposed to begin from 3102 B.C. The Saptarishi or Laukika era was also used in Kashmir. It was based upon the theory of a revolution of Ursa Major every two thousand seven hundred years. In practice, however, it is reckoned in cycles of a hundred years, beginning in the twenty-fifth year of each century of the Christian era plus twenty-four or twenty-five to be added to it. The term Saptarishi is used when the era is counted in full; when the date is abridged by reckoning made in the 100 year cycle it is called Laukika or Loka Kala.

1. Mrs. Bruce says that since the story of Kashmir can be traced back to 2000 B. C., it should command our interest and respect.

child was born he was named Gonanda II. It was during his reign that the Mahabharata was fought. Being a mere boy he was not invited by any party. During his reign there came one Hardev, a descendant of the Pandus, to Kashmir. He was very poor. The king took pity upon him and offered him a job in his service. Hardev became such a great favourite of the king that he was soon made the Dewan. One day he seized an opportunity and made an end of the king. It may be noted here that the contemporaries of the Kurus and the Pandus have not been recorded which shakes the historical background a little.

Thirty-five kings followed. Raja Ramdev in the line is said to have built the temple at Mattan in about 3007 B.C. Ramdev was a great monarch who defeated five hundred kings in wars. His kingdom extended as far as the Bay of Bengal. He took one-tenth of the land produce as his revenue. Another king named Lava is said to have built the city of Lolara (Lolav). The city is stated to have contained eighty-four lacs of stone buildings. Then followed Kusha and Surendra. Kusha built Kurushara. Surendra founded the town Soraka and also built Khara Narendra-bhawana. Raja Sudarsen was the twentieth king descended from Hardev. During this time there broke out a big earth-quake which caused a heavy loss to the country. After many years the kigdom fell into the hands of Wazir Bamro who snatched it from one Prahlad. This Wazir Bamro fell in love with a woman named Lolare and there is a love song in Kashmiri called Lolare-Bamro* which describes the romantic adventures of the couple. Praversen, last of the line, founded the city of Srinagar. Godara, a scion of another family, is also mentioned to have occupied the throne. His son Swarna known as 'giver of gold' was a munificent monarch. After him we come across Janaka, Sacinara and Asoka. It was Asoka who first embraced the doctrine of Jina.

According to various accounts Ogyges or Ogbuz, the Scythian, also invaded Kashmir. He was repulsed

* Some historians are of opinion that this anecdote cannot be historical.

by Prince Jaqub of Jammu.[1] Ogyges was forced to leave the country empty handed because he was a poor match against the assailant.[2]

In 326 B.C. the king of Kashmir sent his brother to announce submission to Alexander. Alexander had advanced to the Vitasta (Hydaspes) and met the army of King Porus who was promised assistance by the King of Kashmir in spite of the latter's submission to the Macedonian. But Porus was defeated.

Kashmir was not always what it appears to us to-day. It might have been a huge jungle or a rough mass of land which those early kings were destined to rule. The people lived in rude huts and icy caves, practising austerities and feeding upon herbs and wild plants. No trade facilities of to-day softened the labour of the people then. Each man had to provide for himself. Money was scarce. "Exchange or Barter system" prevailed everywhere. In spite of all these disadvantages which the modern man is quite unware of, they have left to us a tradition "in simplicity sub-lime" which has survived centuries of unrest in the thought-realm influenced by exotic creeds, strange languages and foreign arts.

The kings who ruled in those days were themselves either scholars or patrons of learning. They administered justice according to dictates of Dharama (duty) enjoined by Shastras. They seldom had any lust for pillage. The Brahmins were highly honoured. Their statesmanship won them homage from all.*

The question is—was the common man happy? His needs were few and far between. Society moulded him more for a spiritual life than for worldly pomp. But he had his say in the affairs of administration. Social injustice between man and woman, young and old, weak and strong was, however, noticeable.

1. This solitary reference connects the history of Jammu with the history of Kashmir for the first time.
2. The story looks fictitious but it is difficult to wean history from fiction relating to a time thousands of years old.

*Panchayat Raj was the type of administration known then. But the king was looked upon as the representative of God in whom were vested all powers. He could collect taxes, lead armies and administer justice. Caste system had its say in the make-up of the administration.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF KASHMIR KINGS 601-1148 A.D.

1st Dynasty (Karkota)
Durlabhvardhan 601-637 A.D.
Durlabhaka 637-687 A.D.

Chandrapida 8 years
Tarapida 4 years
Lalitaditya 36 years

Kuvalayapida 1 year.
Vajrapida 7 years

Sangramapida 7 years
Jayapida 31 years

Sangramapida 7 years
Lalitapida

Jayapida

Utpalapida
Ajitapida

Anangapida

2nd Dynasty (Utpala)
Avantivarman 855-884 A, D.

Sankarvarman 884-902 A. D.

Gopalvarman
Sangatvarman

MOTHER SUGANDHA REGENT 902-906-914 A D.

Minor kings of a collateral branch like Pangu, Chakravarman, Partha ruled from 915-939 A.D.

3RD DYNASTY (Viradeva)
Yasakaradeva 940-948 A.D.
Sangramadeva 949 A.D.

4TH DYNASTY (Divira)

Parvagupta 950-957 A.D.

Kshamagupta 958-972 A.D.
M. Didda Regent & hereself 980-1003 A.D.

Abhimanyu 973 A.D.

Nandigupta 975 A.D.
Tribhavana 980 A.D.
Bhima

5TH DYNASTY (Lohara).

1st Branch

Sangramaraja 1004-1029 A,D.

Anantraja 1059 A.D.

Kalasa 1073 A.D.

Harsha 1101 A.D.
Utkarsha
Bhoja
Bhikshkara 1180 A.D.

2nd Branch

Malla

Uccala 1111 A.D. Sussala 1128 A.D.

Jayasinha
(Ruling when Kalhana wrote in 1148 A.D.)

CHAPTER V

BUDDHISTS

Asoka surnamed "The Pious" conquered Kashmir in about 250 B.C. and with him also came Buddhism. Some argue that Buddhism came to Kashmir in the time of King Surendra, ahead of Asoka. Khonamoh near Pampore was an endowment created by his father Khagendra. Surendra built a *vihara* in the city of Samaka corresponding to Suru beyond the Zojila Pass. This was known as Narendra Bhavana. Another was built at Samasa corresponding to Sowur on the shore of Anchar Lake. Janaka built a *vihara* at Jalora corresponding to Zolur in Zainagir. Some believe that Asoka* of Kashmir was different from Asoka of Indian fame. But this view has not been accepted by scholars. He had four sons though Kalhana mentions only Jaluka. The Empire was divided among the four sons and Jaluka got Kashmir. According to Kalhana, Asoka exterminated *mlecchas*, root and branch. Srinagar and Dharamaravya Vihara, the top of which could not be seen by the human eye, so high it was, are attributed to Asoka. However, the State religion did not draw to itself many followers from the populace as the land was under the sway of the learned Brahmins whose fame for scholarship in the Sanskrit lore had travelled to the distant parts of Hindustan, Tibet, China, Java and Japan. Low caste Hindus alone presumably adopted the new faith. It is recorded that Asoka sent Majjhantika (thereat as missionary) to Kashmir who converted about 80,000 people. There is mention of about 500 Buddhist Monasteries in Kashmir in his time. "He gave up all in Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Church." During Asoka's regime peace reigned supreme in the country. He had his capital near about the present Pandrethan. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A. D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

*Asoka lived in the same period as Hannibal.

Some say that Kashmir passed into Asoka's hands on the death of Sacinara who was issueless. Saffron cultivation was introduced in his time. The Siva temple at the shrine of Vijayeshvara (Bijbihara) is also attributed to him.

Asoka[1] was succeeded by his son Jaluka in about 220 B.C. Jaluka[2] was a great worshipper of Siva, the third of the Hindu Trinity, and Avadhuta was his principal instructor.

There is a legend according to which he possessed a magic substance which could transform baser metals into gold. He routed the mlecchas badly. He conquered Kanayakubja and his kingdom extended as far as Kanauj and Kandhar. About him it is said that he used to go to Wangat and bathe there in the spring every morning. One day he was too late. The deity felt compassion for him and so willed that another spring arose in the city called Sahodara (born of the same parents). Thus was he saved of the great trouble of making a long journey every day to the holy spring. To test the identity of Sahodara he threw a golden cup in the original spring and this after two and a half days appeared in the spring at Srinagar. Such devotion is rare indeed. To quote another fable, Kritya once begged food and then human flesh which king Jaluka agreed to give from his own body. The temple on the top of Sankaracharya hill is attributed to him, but it lacks evidence.

After Jaluka we come across Damodra II. He constructed a long dam called Gudsetu. It is said that once* some Brahmins asked the king for food but

1. While we read old accounts we come across "Sharda University" somewhere in Keran district. The place known as 'Sharda' is still there but no traces of a University are available. It is this University which allured the Chinese scholars to come to Kashmir on their way to India. It is possible that Asoka may have shifted the scene of this University from Kashmir to Nalanda which later on rose to fame.

2. This is one of the numerous instances of religious freedom that while the father held one belief, the son held another. This legend lends weight to the argument that Jaluka was not the son of Asoka. But at the same time it looks irreconcilable that Asoka should have been a Buddhist and Jaluka, a Sanatanist Hindu.

*These instances are quoted simply to show the part religion played in politics and administration as it did elsewhere also.

he requested them to wait till he would bathe. The Brahmins were offended and they at once pronounced a curse which turned the poor king into a serpent. This legend is known as the legend of 'Damodara Suda.'

The Brahmins of Kashmir had become great admirers of Buddhism. Some became its missionaries and went far and wide to preach the new faith to the people. Shak Yashri Bhadia went to China to preach the gospel of Buddha there. Ratanjira went to Bodh Gaya, Udyana and Tibet to spread the new doctrine there. Arhat Madhyantika roamed throughout Kashmir and acquainted the people with Buddhism and its founder. But in spite of this the new faith did not take roots in the soil.

From about 150-100 B.C. Kashmir was under the subjection of Tartar Chiefs. They were immediately followed by the Indo-Scythian kings. They subdued Kashmir when the Romans were conquering Britain and Buddhism was spreading in China. Hushka to whom the date 125 A.D. is assigned founded Aushkar (Hushkapur) and went his way. Then appeared Jushka on the scene (185 A.D.). He established himself at Zakar (Jushkapur) and passed away in 225 A.D. The most notable figure of these was Kanishka (the Kusan king of Gandhara) to whom the date 120-160 A.D. had been assigned although this must be accepted with hesitation. Many authorities assign to Kanishka's accession the date 58-57 B.C. Kanishka founded the city of Kanuspur (Kanishkapura). His empire extended on both sides of the Hindukush, the Pamirs and the Karakorum range. In Kashmir, he held the famous third great Council of the Church which drew up the 'Northern Canon' or 'Greater Vehicle of Law'. He was a great Buddhist monarch and in his time a famous Budhistave named Nagarjuna lived at Harwan (Sudrahvava)* Kanishka's death was tragical, as the

*Extensive ruins of an ancient centre of Buddhist culture which 2,000 years ago radiated the Mahayana School of Buddhism to China and the East, are new buried under 300 feet of water. The 110 square

story says, and he was smothered with a quilt. Abhimanyu built the town of Abhimanyapura. In time Chandracarya introduced the Mahabasyha. Kashmir witnessed heavy snowfall and it was only averted by the intervention of Nilanag.[1] Gonanda III was a great enemy of Buddhism who patronised Nilamatpurana. Nara was a wicked monarch, Buddhism received a death-blow at his hands. He also destroyed the town near Vijayeswara. Hiranayasksa founded Hiranyapura at the entrance of the Sindh Valley.

The white Huns began their raids on Kashmir in the first half of the sixth century when England was under the Saxons.[2] Vasukula, son of Mihirakula, the Indian Nero, came to power in about 515 A.D. His

miles valley that forms the reservoir was once the site of a noted Buddhist University, huge monastic establishments and the capital of Ikshvaku kings whose queens patronised Buddhism and built viharas. The place was known as Sri Parvata in Satyavahana days and as Vijayapuri during Ikshavaku rule. It was popularly called Nagarjunakonda, after the great exponent of the Mahayana system of Buddhism, Acharya Nagarjuna who spent his last years in a monastery built for him on Sri Parvata by Emperor Hala of the Satavahana dynasty in the first Century A.D. It was during Nagarjuna's stay at Sri Parvata that the place became a great centre of Asian culture and fountain head of the Mahayana system, the form in which Buddhism spread to Tibet, China and the East. Thus it happens that Nagarjuna is mentioned and his name preserved in Tibetean and Chinese literature. Another Nagarjuna who was a noted Tantric, is also said to have spent his days here in the 4th or 5th century A.D. Buddhism thrived in this valley for centuries during the reign of the Satayavahanas and Ikshvakus. When Sankaracharya in the 8th century A. D. re-established the pre-eminence of Hinduism and gave a death blow to Buddhist dominance in India, Nagarjunakonda languished and ceased to be the Buddhist centre. Sankracharya took over the place which today remains the property of the Sankara Mutt of Pushpagiri. The ruins of this ancient city, nesting securely in an enchanting valley, the high ranges of the Nallamlai hills affording it a natural fortification, were not discovered until 1926. A monastery, described by Huien Tsang and stated to be the one built by the Satyavahana ruler for Acharya Nagarjuna, has yet to be located. The Chinese traveller mentioned that the hill had been tunnelled to build this Vihara. He wrote, "In the midst of long galleries, the storyed building reached five stages, each stage with four halls and viharas In each vihara was a life-size statue of the Buddha cast in gold, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned." The archaeologist has found no trace of it yet, Bodhi Sri built chaitya grihas for fraternities from Ceylon, Kashmir, China and Nepal. Evidence collected from the site indicates that Nagarjunakonda had become a very famous centre of Buddhist learning at this time and students and fraternities were drawn to the place from Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, China and Japan.

1. Nilanag is also a lake from which the anonymous Nilamatpurana is believed to have emerged. Kashmiri Pandits to this day follow the cult of Nilamatpurana.
2. Kalidas was born in Kashmir in the latter half of 5th century. He left Kashmir during the Huns.

kingdom extended from Kabul valley to Central India. According to some he got Kashmir in 530 A.D. Perhaps he recovered his lost dominions between 544-550 A.D. From other sources we learn that he succeeded his father Toramana in 510 A.D. and reigned at Sakala (Sialkot) over his Indian territories. There is some confusion that Mihirakula, son of Vasakula and Mihirakula, son of Toramana, could not be one and the same person. An Indian Confederacy led by Narasimha Gupta of Maghda and Yasodharman, a king of Central India, defeated Mihirakula in about 523 and took him prisoner. He was sent out of India and a younger brother seized his kingdom at Sakala. He was befriended by a king of Kashmir whom he afterwards dethroned and thus obtained possession of the kingdom of Gandhara. Mihirakula showed leanings towards the Shaiva cult. He was the worst type of a king. In his time tyranny was the order of the day. His principal hobby was slaughter. The people were very badly off. They were treated as worse than beasts.

It is said that he seldom laughed. Once he was seated on the window of his palace when all of a sudden a huge elephant tumbled down from the top of a neighbouring hill. On seeing the fall he smiled and this was the first and the last smile of his life.* This story may or may not be true but this is corroborated that he once caused destruction of a hundred elephants on the Pass of Pir Panchal.

Mihirakula's son, Baka was a virtuous man. Vasunanda wrote a handbook on erotics. After Nara II came Aksa who founded Aksanala. Gopaditya the Good was a great builder. He founded Agraharas and built the temples of Lyesthesvara and Sankaracharya. Gopaditya's successor Gokarna founded the shrine of Siva, Gokaraneshwara. Adhistra I, ended the first Gonanda dynasty. He was a cruel king. Rebellions forced him to abandon his kingdom. Pratapaditya I, a relative of

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*According to one version the fall of the elephant was arranged by him for mere amusement.

Harsha Vikramaditya, ascended the throne at the request of the disgruntled Ministers. During the reign of Tunjina I, a great famine broke out. Tunjina was a magnificent king. Kavi Chandaka flourished during his reign. Vijaya founded the town of Vijayashwara. It was through the magic of witches that Sandhimati, a wise Minister, is credited to have been brought back to life. Sandhimati Aryaraja ruled piously for about forty-seven years. The disaffection among his subjects, caused by earlier misrule, however, obliged him to abdicate. He died as a recluse at Siva Bhutesa. The throne was then offered to Meghvahana, son of Gopaditya. He was both strong and pious. Meghvahana proved to be a great patron of Buddhism. He subjugated Vibhishana of Ceylon during 'Digvijay' (conquest of the world). Meghvahana's son Sresthasena built a number of temples at Pandrethan. Tormana was thrown into captivity for striking coins in his own name as Yuvaraja. Then followed Matrigupta. Vikramaditya of Ujjain despatched this poet with a letter. He did not know what the letter contained. At the frontier pass he was surprised to see himself received by the people's representatives. He was a kind ruler. He maintained peace and won goodwill of his subjects. After a reign of about five years he abdicated in favour of Pravarsena II and later on died at Banaras as a recluse. Pravarsena heard of Vikramaditya's death and Matrigupta's abdication on his way at Kangra. He conquered Gujrat and founded Prayarapura.* Yudhisthira II, built viharas and buildings everywhere. It is mentioned that Ranaditya ruled for a period of three hundred years. His queen Ranasambha was noble and pious. Baladitya was last of Gonanda's race[1]. He

* He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum and probably made the embankment from the Dal Gate to the City which separates the Chinar Bagh from the Dal Gate.

1. We know from Kalhana that the mediaeval period of Indian history actually commenced in Kashmir in the very beginning of the seventh century A.D. with the establishment of a new dynasty of kings. The ancient mythical Govardiya dynasty came to end in Laukika era 3677. This era commenced 25 or 26 years after Kaliyuga which begins in 3101 B.C. Thus the Laukika era which obtained in Kashmir down to Kalhana's days begins with 3075 B. C. This Govardiya ancient dynasty accordingly ended in (3677-3075) 602 A. D.

married his daughter to one Durlabhavardhana, a small official, who proved to be a descendant of Nagarkarkote and the throne finally passed into his hands.

Durlabhavardhana ruled for thirty-six years. The date of his accession is given by some writers as 598 A.D. and by others as 627 and 602 A.D. His dynasty is called Karkotaka dynasty, because it was protected by the mythical serpent Karkotaka metioned in the Mahabharata. During his reign Huien Tsang[1], a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in 631-633 A.D.. came to Kashmir via Hashkapura (Hazara) and made remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He says that the people were handsome and well instructed. Being a Buddhist, he was against idolatry and he writes: "This is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." Elsewere he says that the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning. Durlabhavardhana appears to have extended his kingdom by conquering Taxila, Sinhapura and Urasa. His son Pratapadity (Durlabhaka) ruled for fifty years. He built Pratapapur and married Narendraprabha (Prakasadevi), the wife of a foreign merchant. He was a most meritorious king and Kalhana tells us many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people. In 631 A. D. Prunts (Poonch) and Rajouri were subject to the King of Kashmir.

Chandrapida, his son, ruled for nine years. He was a just king who built many shrines but his death was brought about by witchcraft. He was followed by his brother, Tapida, who ruled for four years only. He was very cruel and he was succeeded by his brother, Lalitaditya Muktapida (699-700—736 A.D.). He was a contemporary of Charlemagne the Great. Lalitaditya was a great monarch. He subjugated the Punjab, Kanauj, Tibet, Badakshan and Peking and returned to Kashmir after twelve years of conquest abroad with the poet Bhavabhuti in his custody whom he afterwards made his poet Laureate. About this time Kashmir had

1. He received instruction in Buddhism at Jayendra Vihara and at Harwan Vihara.

embassies in China. In a letter written in 712 A.D. addressed by Babar to Mohammad Kasim occurs the following passage: "If I had sent against you, the King of Kashmir on whose Royal threshold the Kother rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees and against whom no human being can stand." Again Al' Beruni remarks, "The second of Chaitra is a great festival day in Kashmir in honour of Victory of its king over the Turks." He built the temple of Martand (dedicated to the Sun) with a great uncut stone wall and the town of Parihaspur (Shadipur) where also he raised a mighty column. Besides, he dug numerous fine canals and reclaimed waste lands but he did not allow more grain to be kept by cultivators than what they required for a year. There was, however, the corresponding obligation to feed the cultivator and his family when enough grain was not forthcoming on account of adverse agricultural season. This view has the support of Mr. V.N. Mehta I.C.S. (refer to the *Twentieth Century* for November, 1934). So generous was he that he ordered a large cauldron to the constructed from which 100,000 persons could be daily fed. Kalhana says that the wealth offered and dedicated to temples could not be counted. He also sent a mission to China of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu, he was sympathetic to Buddhism and built a Monastery and Stupa at Hushkapur. Rashness was his only vice. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered Pravarsena's beautiful city to be fired and he laughed as he watched the flames. According to another version his wise ministers managed to save the city by putting a huge pyre of dry hay on fire instead. The king thought that the city was burnt.

He again left for Turkistan where he died after a reign of seven years*. His sons brought no credit to their father. They survived for some time and disappeared.

* At some places befitting his exploits, at others in pursuance of convention that proud man usually assigned names to his foundations.

On-Kong (759-763 A.D.) another Chinese pilgrim, visited Hindustan in 759 A.D. He gives a memorable account of the land of Kashyapa and its people. During his visit anarchy prevailed. Might was right and all was chaos and confusion. On-Kong says Buddhism was nevertheless in a flourishing condition. He stayed at Pandrethen (Bavarapura)*.

He founded Suniscitapura where he had formed the resolution for conquest up to the horizon; in the pride of triumph he founded Darpitapura consecrated to Vishnu.
When he was accepting fruits the king had founded Phalapura, Parnotsa where he had received leaves and the Vihara of Kridarama where he held sports.
By fixing one magnet above which pulled upwards and another which in the same way exerted a pull downwards, he put up without supports in Striraj an image of Narhari.
While that monarch was abroad it is said that his architect built a town to bear his name and suffered from his anger as a consequence. In that town which had been named Lalitapura, the king bursting with pride offered to the Sun territory of Kanyakubja together with the villages.

By this high-minded king was founded at Huskapura, the blessed Muktasvamin and a colossal Vihara together with a stupa.
Having taken one crore, he had marched forth for conquest up to the horizon, when he returned he offered eleven crores to Bhutesa for purification.

And the king there achieved the construction of a stone temple of Jyestha Rudra with the grant of land and villages.
At Chakradhara, he made a diversion of the waters of the Vitasta and by constructing a series of water-wheels dealt them out widely among the villages.

The magnificent king built the marvellous temple of Martanda with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a township which rejoiced in grape-vines.
At Lokapunya having founded a town replete with various material resources the conqueror presented it, together with villages, to Visnu. Thereafter, the terrestrial Indra who was by nature extremely humorous founded Parihasapura which ridiculed the abode of Indra.

Resplendent was the silver statue of the God, the holy Parihasakesave, as if he were annointed with the lustre of pearls during slumber in the ocean.

As if pleased with the mass of filaments of the lotus on the navel the statue of Visnu—the holy Muktakesave was replendent in gold. Mahavaraha was radiant wearing the armour of gold like sun when he carries the beams of light to annihilate darkness in Patala.
He had a statue of god Govardhanadhara cast in silver, the whiteness which it bore was due, as it were, to the floods of milk from Gokula.
After erecting a colossal stone fifty-four hands high he placed on the crest of the standard, Garuda, the emblem of Visnu.

* They were preceded by Asanga, Vasubandhu, Kumarajina and Buddhabhadra in the 4th century, Buddhadana, Dharmakshana (both from Central Asia), Che-yen, Che-mong, Fa-yong.

Jayapida's reign began in 746 A. D. and ended in 795 (782) A. D. According to some, he ruled from 779 to 808 A. D. For conquests abroad he marched out with a huge army and 80,000 litters. The kings of Ganda took to heels before him. By his personal prowess he married Kalyanadevi (or Kamladevi), daughter of Jayanta of Bengal, where he had gone in disguise. Kanauj fell at his mere appearance. On return he slew his brother-in-law Jajja who had usurped the throne during his absence. Jayapida (entitled Vinayadita) was a great patron of learning. He revived the study of Mahabhashva, the great work on grammar by Patanjali and so on. He built Jayapura at Andurkoth. The Naga Lord of the Mahapadma (Wolur) showed him a copper mine for saving him from a sorcerer. The poet historian observes that equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only but made

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With large quadrangle, lofty chapels and a colossal statue of Buddha, the king, who was free from the passion, constructed the Rajavihara which always had abundant provisions.
He had used eighty-four thousand Tolakas of gold for the figure and Muktakesave.
The very same number of Palas of silver the pure-minded one collected and constructed the holy Parhasakesave.

Further, with as many thousands of Pasthas of brass he founded a colossal statue of the blessed Buddha which filled the heavens.
The quadrangle and chapel were built with equal amount of money—thus the fine structures were treated alike by him.
At some places of silver, at others of gold, the king who was comparable to Kubera, founded images of the gods by the side of principal deities.

How many precious stones, villages and materials he granted them! Who has the capacity to fix their number accurately?
By the ladies of the royal household, the councillors, the rajahs who were in his service, hundreds of sacred foundations were made which were the marvels of the world.
His queen, Kamalavati, who had founded Kamlahatta, built a large size silver image of Kamalakesave.

The minister, Mitrasarman, too, made a foundation for Siva Mitresvara: the Rajah of Lata, named Kayya, founded the holy Kayyasvamin.
The holy Kavya Vihara which was a marvel was also founded by him where, in course of time, there arose the Bhiksu Sarvajnamitra, who was comparable to Jina.

The Tuhkhara Cankuna, the founder of the Cankuna Vihara, founded a stupa lofty like the king's mind as well as gold images of the Jinas.
By Isanadeve, his wife, was constructed a pond, the water of which was limpid like the nectar-juice and restorative of health for invalids.

hundredfold. Towards the end he exercised tyranny through his Kayastha officers (a title of mixed Kshatrivas whose caste occupation was writing and government service). Fiscal exactions became the order of the day till at last he died as a result of the falling of his tent upon him. This incident, though ascribed to the curse of a Brahmin, may well have been the action of one of his disgruntled subjects.

There was not a township, no village, no river, no sea, no island where this king did not lay down a sacred foundation.

During the reign of the Karkota dynasty Kashmir enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of northern India. The kings were usually worshippers of Shiva or Vishnu. Under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning. It was always an ambition of Indian Pandits to conquer the Pandits of Kashmir, as is evident from Shankara's visit to the temple of Sarda. The aboriginies of Kashmir were called Damaras. The upper classes of the population were the three Aryan Castes—Brahmins, Kshatrivas and Vaishyas. The Brahmins, of course, were as a class, ministers of religion and Government officials. The Sarda character descended from a wastern variety of the Gupta, first appeared in about 800 A.D. in Kashmir, and the northeast Punjab and has maintained itself in Kashmir since.

Avantivarman (855-883/884 A.D.) who belonged to the Utpala dynasty flourished in the ninth century. He was the most sagacious king. He built temples at Avantipura, the place named after him since his time. His Minister, Surya also built Harpur. His court was proud of the two famous poets, Ratnakara and Anandvardhana. He was a staunch Vaishnava. During his reign the price of Shali (unhusked rice) fell from 200 to 36 Dinnars (the Roman Denaris). It is about this period that we read of a great engineer, named Suyya, who drained the valley and reclaimed waste land. Suyyapur or Sopore commemorates his

name even upto this day. When this great engineer was working at Sopore and no workers were forthcoming to plunge themselves into the rushing water. the king ordered that a part of the treasury may be thrown into the water, on seeing which the workers turned up. Thus was the great engineer's scheme worked out*. Avantivarman died at Tripuresa. He was succeeded by his son, Shankaravarman (883-902 A.D.). For some time he was engaged in a civil war with his cousin Sukhavarman. He maintained an army of nine hundred thousand foot men, 300 elephants and one hundred thousand horses (total ten lacs). He was a great conqueror and spent a lot of his time in submontane expeditions[1]. But he was avaricious and often revelled in gambling and debauchery. Oppression and fiscal exactions were not rare. Forced labour was common. He went on an expedition to Hazra and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat and he died on the way.

His son Gopalavarman (902-904 A.D.) ruled under the regency of his mother Sugandha. He was killed by the minister Prabhakaradiva.

Partha (906-921) A.D.) came under the influence of Tantrins whom he paid heavy bribes. His reign witnessed the execution of Sugandha, a flood and a famine. The Tantrins deposed him in favour of his father Nirjitavarman (921-923 A.D.).

His child son, Cakravarman (923-933) witnessed a revolution raised by the Tantrins in favour of his half-brother Suravarman I (933-934 A.D.). He was also deposed and Partha put in his place. Partha was again succeeded by Cakravarman in 935 A.D. Sambhuvardhana whom Tantrins sold the crown got the

*The ancients compared the Jhelum to a 'sleeping lion the doorway of whose den must always be kept wide open near the Khadanyar Gorge to keep it off from doing any harm in the interier of the Valley in case of heavy rain.'

1. All that he accomplished was an invasion of the neighbouring valley of Kangra and the north of Punjab.

throne in 935-936 A.D. The Tantrains** were defeated by the Damaras at Srinagar in 936 A.D. Sambhuvardhana was executed. The king proved very cruel. He married women of the despised Dohma caste and raised their relatives to high positions. The Damaras murdered him when he was reclining on the arms of his Dohma Queen. Unmatavanti (937-938 A.D.), son of Partha, was a cruel king. He destroyed all his relatives. Partha who was living on charity was also one day murdered by the king who was his son. At last he died of consumption. Suryavarman II was crowned by Unmatavanti in the year 939 A.D. The commander-in-chief of the forces defeated the child-king but the Brahmins whose consent he wanted voted against him. Yasakara (939-948 A. D.), a Brahmin, was finally chosen for the crown. He had a great legal acumen and ruled mildly.***

**This tribe, like Praetorian guards of Rome made a good deal of noise and for sometime became virtually king-makers. They held the same position as did Janizaries.

***The following anecdotes about this king may be read with interest :—

His own wisdom and power of penetration were simply wonderful. He at once went right to the bottom of a thing however intricate and obscure it was and decided it most equitably. Once a man was brought to him who was going to commit suicide by starvation. Asked why he was bent on taking this extreme course, he said... ....I was once a wealthy man but in course of time, became very poor. I contracted debts and my creditors used to trouble me. I then thought that I should clear off my debts by selling my property and then go abroad. So I sold my house. I, however, retained a well for which I used to get rent from gardeners and that I did not sell, retaining it for the sustenance of my wife. I then went abroad and returned with some fortune a short time ago. When I arrived here, I found my wife eking out a miserable existence by working as a maid in a man's house. I enquired from her way she had become a maid when I had left means sufficient for her maintenance and she answered that, directly I had left, the merchant who had purchased my housc drove her away from the well. saying that the house had been sold by me together with the well. I had recourse to law courts, but they dismissed my claim. I am, therefore, going to put an end to my life." The king summoned the Judges and the merchant to himself and inquired into the matter. They showed him the deed of sale in which it was clearly written that the man had sold his house together with the well. But the king doubted this in his heart. He, however, ceased talking on thfs subject as though he had been fully satisfied on seeing the deed, and diverted his councillor's attention by discussing other matters and at last began to examine the jewels that they wore. In doing so he took out the ring from the merchant's finger, pretending to see how it was. He then retired to another apartment on a pretence telling them all to wait till he came back. From the other apartment, he secretly sent a man with the ring to the merehant's house, instructing him to show it to his accountant that the merchant wanted the daily account book of the year in

He constructed Mathas and started endowments for students and general public respectively. He chose Varnala as his successor. He died of poison at his Matha. His son Kshemagupta (950-958 A.D.) was very sensual and vicious. He built Kshemagaurishwara, out of plunder. Kshemagupta married Didda, daughter of a king of Lohara, named Sinharaja who possessed energy and political sagacity.

Queen Didda* ruled from (980/81-1003 A.D.) She was the grand-daughter of Bhima, Shahi king of Kabul. On the death of her husband she is said to have removed all male scions from the family.

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which the deed had been executed for producing it before the court and that he had been sent to fetch it at once. The man went and on showing the merchant's ring to the accountant, got from him the daily account book. When the book was brought the king examined the date on which the deed had been executed and found among other items of expenditure, an entry of 1,000 Dinnars paid to the official registrar. A small sum was payable as registration fee and the payment of high fee plainly showed that the registrar had been bribed, as *so* (together) had been interpolated in place of *ra* (without) in the deed. He showed it to his councillors and to the registrar and everyone was convinced of forgery. Then he had, not only the well, but also the whole house together with the property of the merchant given to the plaintiff and exiled the defendant from the country for his cheating.

On another occasion when the king was about to take his food, it was reported to him that a Brahmin in great distress wanted to see him, He called him and inquired what he wanted. The man told him ...." I had gone abroad and was now returning to my native land. I had 100 gold coins with me tied in the knot of my clothes. I slept last night at Lawantosa underneath a tree by the roadside. In the morning, when I got up the coins got loose of the knot and fell into a well nearby. I was sobbing at this loss when a man told me that if he brought it out how much I would give him. I told him I had no power over this property and whatever seemed right to him, he might give to me out of it. He descended into the well and brought out the coins. but he gave me only two coins and openly retained for himself 98. When I remonstrated against this and appealed to the people who were assembled there, I was frowned out by all, being told that in your region all transactions were carried out in strict pursuance of the letter of an agreement." The king consoled the Brahmin and made him partake his food and next day summoned the man from Lawantosa. This man related the whole matter precisely as had been reported by the Brahmin, saying that he had kept 98 coins in accordance with the Brahmin's own stipulation. The king adjudged 98 coins to be returned to the Brahmin and only two coins to be given to the man who had brought them out of the well. "Had the Brahmin's words," he declared, "been............'whatever you give, let that be given to me' the transaction, as had been made, could not be revoked but his words were..............'whatever seems right to you, you may give me.' The right and reasonable amount to be given for wages to the man who brought them out was 2 coins."

*It was not an easy job for a woman to rule a county which was a hot-bed of intrigues then. It may be admitted that she was spoilt by Tunga into whose hands she played.

She had enough of diplomatic tact but she was fickle also. She raised Tunga, a herdsman, to high office who ultimately became the queen's paramour. An expedition against Rajouri was sent under the leadership of Tunga. She was succeeded by her nephew, Sangramaraja (1003 - 1028/29 A. D.), the founder of the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir. In his reign began the final conquest of Hindustan by the Muslims. Tunga who was at first popular became unpopular later. Mahmud Ghazni's invasions of Kashmir in 1015 and 1021 A.D. are the only important events of his reign. Sangramaraja sent some help to Trilochanapala, Shahi king of Kabul, against Mahmud Ghazni. The Hindus sustained a defeat in the battle fought by him in 1021 A.D. with the aid of Kashmir troops. Trilochanapala fled from place to place and probably his son Bhima also whose end is recorded in 1027. But his other sons or cousins, Rudrapala and others, remained in Kashmir under the protection of Sangramaraja who was probably their relative. Tunga was at last murdered at the instigation of the king.

Next came Anantadev (1029-1039/1028-1063 A.D.) He married Survamati, the younger daughter of Trigarta, king of Indracanda. He was a weak administrator, but he had a wise counsellor in his Queen*. They were ill-treated in their old age by their son and Ananta died in grief. The Damaras under Tribhauna were routed. The king also beat back the Dards and the Mlecchas[1]. The queen built the temple of Sadasiva. Kashmir had a busy trade with India. One Haladhana of very humble origin rose to the position of Prime Minister. The king abdicated in favour of his son. Kalsha Dev, (1039/1063-1089 A.D.) like so many of his line he also proved a weak king.

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*She gave him wholesome advice in times of difficulty and piloted the State affairs with caution.

1. The invasion by the Turks assisted by Dards was brought into Kashmir by a treacherous Sardar. By the valour of the Shahi Princes and Anantraja himself this formidable force was utterly defeated and Kashmir was saved from being subjected to Muslim rule for about 200 years more.

There arose a conflict between Ananta and Kalsha in 1076 A.D. Ananta retired to Vijayshwara with the State treasury, Kalsha turned out a vagabond, set fire to Vijayshwara and got hold of the treasury. Ananta was enraged and committed suicide in 1081 A.D. and Survamati died as a *sati*. This turned over a new leaf in the character of Kalsha. He helped Sangramapala of Rajapuri. With the help of Vamana and Kandarpa he consolidated his kingdom and improved internal administration. About eight rulers paid homage to him in 1087-88 A.D. Again he became licentious and died at Martand in 1089/1093 A.D. His son Utkarsa was an injudicious prince. He was thrown into a prison where he committed suicide. According to another version Vijayshwara raised a rebellion in favour of Harsha against Utkarsa who was defeated and killed in battle in 1089. Harsha Dev's reign lasted from 1089-1101 A.D. (He is not the Emperor Harsha who ruled in India from 606-647 (A.D.). Harsha had a powerful frame. He was beautiful as well as courageous, but a bit self-willed. He was also a great patron of learning (science, music and art) and himself a scholar but greed, cunning and craft dominated his character. He was sometimes kind and liberal also. Vijayshwara fled to Dardistan where he was killed by an avalanche. Conquest of Rajapuri and changes in dress are two important factors of his reign. He executed his half-brother Jayaraja in 1095 A.D. and Dhamata with his four brave sons. He imposed oppressive taxes and demolished temples to meet the expenses of his pleasures. This is not all. He also committed acts of incest with his own relatives. The expedition against Rajapuri was not successful. In 1098 A.D., the king was defeated in an expedition against the Dards of Dur Khut. The year 1099 A.D. witnessed plague, plunder, flood and famine. The persecution of Damaras had a severe effect. Uccala and Sussala fled in 1100 A.D. to Rajapuri and Kalijnar respectively. They both invaded but were repulsed. Their father, Malla, was mercilessly executed. The king's last days saw nothing but intrigues and rebellion. Harsha relentlessly persecuted the parti-

sans of Vijavamala and misrule and oppression became so acute that Uccala*, a collateral cousin, succeeded in leading a rebellion, defeating Harsha and taking possession of the capital. Harsha's queens burnt themselves in the palace while he himself took refuge in a Matha. His son, Bhoja, who had been expelled came to Kashmir to relieve him but was killed in a battle with Uccala. Harsha finding everything going adverse, rushed upon the soldiers who had surrounded the Matha and was killed. Kalhana's father. Canapaka, alone remained faithful to the king. Some maintain that he was cut off and burnt. This may be true but he died fighting like a hero and his death resembles that of the unfortunate Dara Shikoh of Moghal history. Thus the first branch of the Lohara Dynasty ruled Kashmir for about a hundred years (1003-1101). His successor Uccala (1101-111 A.D.)was a fairly energetic man[1].

The king put down rebellion with a strong hand by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. He ceded Lohara territory to Sussala. But he had his faults also. He was jealous of other's merits. (That he reigned from 1111 to 1122 A.D. is disputed). Sussala attempted an invasion but was repulsed. The king first brought up Bhitsacara (the grandson of Harsha), but then he had to take refuge in Malva. A conspiracy was formed against him by Chudda and his brothers and the poor fellow was murdered by the city prefect on the eighth of December 1111 A.D. Sussala (1112-1120 A.D.) was cruel and harsh. He imprisoned Salhana and Lothana. Garchandra, the king-maker, was first humiliated and then murdered with his three sons and one brother-in-law in 1118 A.D.

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*He moved incognito like the great Calipha Harun-al-Rashid to discover unrest and distress.

1. Once a law suit, between a merchant and his customer which the magistrate could not decide, came to his notice. The facts of the case were that a man had deposited a lakh of Dinnars with a merchant. He subsequently took small sums of money from him from time to time. When twenty or thirty years passed, the depositor came to him and asked him to return the balance of his deposit that remained with him after deducting the amount actually drawn by him. The merchant after deferring the payment for a

The Damaras rebelled and defeated the king often. They installed Bhitsacara but he also proved sensual. Trade became dull and money scarce. Sussala (1121-1128 A.D.) again seized the throne. The civil war made the country very poor. (Jayasinha was nominally crowned but kept under surveillance). He entered into a secret pact with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka—a powerful baron—which led to the murder of the king in 1128 A.D. Jayasinha* (1128-1149 A.D.) announced general amnesty. According to Jonaraja, Jayasinha ruled five years longer. Utpala was captured and killed. Bhitsacara was routed and killed in 1130 A.D. Suja was murdered by the king in 1133 A.D. at the instigation of courtiers. Feudalism

long time, at last when the depositor persisted in his demand showed him his account book in which were fraudulently recorded the following items which were, on the face of them, preposterous, fictitious and false :—

100 dinnars paid for repairs to a shoe and a whip.

50 dinnars for ghee to be applied to a blister on the foot.

300 dinnars given out of pity by the depositor to a porter woman who was crying over her broken pots.

100 dinnars taken bv the depositor for purchase of mice and fish juice to feed tenderly the kittens of a cat.

700 dinnars taken by the depositor for butter as an ointment for the feet as well as rice flour, ghee and honey on the occasion of the baths of the Shradha fornight.

100 dinnars taken by the depositor's little boy for honey and ginger to be used to get rid of an attack of cough

3,000 dinnars taken by the depositor for the incense and onions presented to his gurus.

Other items which the merchant said, he had forgotton, as well as the interest on the whole sum advanced.

The merchant told the depositor that he would debit all these items to his deposits and pay the balance.

Uccala ordered the merchant that if any portion of the money was still with him he should produce it before him prior to his judgement. The money was brought and among the coins, he found coins of his own reign. But the deposit had been kept with the merchant when Kalsha (1091-99 A.D.) was ruling, twenty years before Uccala's reign had commenced. So it was evident that the deposit had been used for other purposes by the merchant. The king then declared his judgment, stating that the plaintiff must pay to the defendant interest on what he had taken from him from time to time up-to-date and the defendant too must pay the plaintiff interest on the full lakh of dinnars from the time of its being deposited together with the amount of the deposit.

*Thus it happened that at this very time a son was born to King Sussala capable of delivering the earth from the catastrophe in which it was sinking (1105 A. D.).

Commencing from the time of the child's birth the king achieved victory everywhere and so he was appropriately named Jayasinha—the lion of victory.

is an important feature of his reign. Bhoja surrendered himself to the king in 1145 A.D. In short, the king's whole reign was engaged in internecine wars[1].

The Lohara dynasty was a Rajput dynasty and thus in the 11th and 12th centuries, as elsewhere in India, there were Rajput kings in Kashmir also. The preceding dynasty of Parvagupta was a Vaisya dynasty while that which preceded it, *viz.*, that of Yasakara was a Brahmin dynasty. It may, however, be added that these two were also practically Kshatriyas as they married into Kshatriya families and followed Kshatriya life and ritual. The Lohara ruling family is said to belong to the Bhatti clan of Rajputs and hence the Kashmir kings were probably Bhattis. It is thus clear that inter-caste marriages were an order of the day in Kashmir in those time.

The Damaras in Kashmir were a turbulent local people who were always troublesome to the reigning king and helpful to rebels. "King Harsha ordered slaughter of these Damaras ; but they combined with two refugee princes and put an end to his life" (Punjab Historial Records Vol. II, p. 81). Thus it seems that Uccala gained the throne with the usual help of powerful Damaras.

As owing to the realisation of all the desired powers Sarvarthasidha is both an appropriate and the proper name of the Buddha so in the case of this king his appropriate appellation did not cease to have the conventional use restricting the name to him.

On seeing the mark which had manifested itself on the foot of the prince, King Uccala's displeasure towards his brother had disappeared.

It was this very mark on the child's foot which had removed the bitterness between the father and the uncle and had brought tranquility to both the realms. Thereafter to require merit King Uccala erected a Matha, in the name of his father who had gone to heaven on the site of bis ancestrsl property.

By his gift of cows, lands, gold, wearing apparel and grain on the great festive occasion the open handed king became to all suppliants like the wonder working wishing tree.

Even mighty kings in distant lands were amazed as the presents of great value sent to them by the monarch whose opulence was the subject of praise.

1. History cannot exonerate this ruler who fomented further intrigues the result of which was chaos and confusion in the whole realm.

With a few solitary exceptions the ninth, tenth and twelvth centuries are described as full of hardships and misery. Short reigns, murders and suicides were a feature of this period. Anybody could rise to power and snatch the throne from his rival. History generally repeats itself. Even countries like France, Italy, Hungary and the Rhine passed through similar ups and downs.

The whole period exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly government always tends to abuse after a brief period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debauch kings succeeded highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how while power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for some time able ministers under the firm guidance of able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bibery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organised army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the defacto masters of the State raising to the throne puppet after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are fully exhibited elsewhere also at Rome, at Baghdad, at Delhi, at Cairo and so on.

Kalhana flourished in the twelvth century when Jayasinha was guiding the destinies of Kashmir.

Buddhism came to Kashmir when Sanskrit lore was in full bloom. Kashmir had produced eminent scholars and poets. They, of course, became its admirers, not adherents. The proof of this, if a proof

at all were required, lies in the fact that not a single Buddhist Vihara of Buddhist Monastery has survived to this day in Kashmir proper*.

Buddhism disappeared from Kashmir by about 638 A.D. and stayed here for about nine centuries causing no change in the Sanatan Dharma. Shankaracharya, the Missionary, who once came to Kashmir, waged a great war against it. He was accommodated in the famous Gope Temple on the top of the Gopa Hill which later came to be known as Shankaracharya Temple and Shankaracharya Hill. There are many causes that led to its overthrow. One is that eminent scholars appeared on the scene who revived the Sanskrit literature. Says Al-Beruni :

"The Brahmins do not allow the Vedas to be commited to writing because it is recited according to certain moderations. They, therefore, avoid the use of pen as it is liable to cause error. The Vedas are consequently often lost." He further says that not long before his time Vasukra, a native of Kashmir and a famous Brahmin, undertook the task of explaining the Vedas and committing them to writing, because he was afraid that the Vedas might be forgotton. "He has taken upon himself a task from which all shrink". Thus the Vedas were first written about 1000 A.D. in Kashmir for the purpose of commenting upon them by Vasukra.

Vasukra, a small village near Sumbal in Kamraj, is probably named after this great Brahmin where Rup Bhawani, equally great Kashmiri female saint, later on settled herself for study as well as penance.

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* Other Buddhist scholars or missionaries were :—

Kumarajina born in 344 A.D. He went to China. Vimalaksha—he went te Kucha. Punyatara—he went to China. Buddha Yasha—he went to China and Kashgar. Buddhajine reached Nanking in 423 A.D. Gunavarman—he went to Ceylon and Jawa. Dharmamithra—he died in 442 A.D. Besides these there were other Kashmirf monks or scholars who have left memorable records.

The Buddhist monarchs were great builders and architects. They built huge temples and palaces. Imagination is struck when one sees massive stones used in these buildings which have in some places survived to this day. The city contained 36 lakhs of houses in the time of Praversen II.

The 10th and 11th centuries were parallel to Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caeser Borgia.

Shaivism, then Buddhism and then Tantrism—all three attained heights in Kashmir during the whole course of history until the coming of Muslim. Many a scholar appeared and carried forward the literature. Some books have survived as master pieces.

According to some Tantrism flowed from Shaivism and according to others it sprang from Buddhism. Buddhism and Buddhist literature was in a flourishing condition in the time of Karkotas. There were tendencies to bring them nearer to therious Hindu cults. Like Shaivism, Buddhism also developed a sacred pantheon. Sarvajnamitras devotional poems 'Srogdhara-Stotra' is well-known. The Yogachara system of Asanga led to the growth of Tantrism within Buddhism. Tantrism is regarded as belief in mantras or in magic and sorcey. Brha-Nila-Tantram, Buddhist in origin, received a Shaivite garb. Chankuna, Lalitaditya's minister, got the image of Braha-Buddha from his master in return for two spells or magical charms which, according to Kalhana, could check the flow of flooded rivers. Marco Polo credited Kashmiris with "making their idols speak". Says the Venetian traveller — "Indeed this country (Kashmir) is the very source from which idolatory (Buddhism) has spread abroad." Growth of Tantrism brought Buddhism very near to Shaivism as then prevalent in the valley and the Buddhism which the Kashmiri monks thereafter gave to their northern neighbours may be called Shiv-Buddhism. Side-by-side Kashmir exported art, astrology, mathmetics,

medicine, music, dancing, customs and superstitions, even the alphabet.

Among the cultural conquests of Kashmir come China, Tibet, Central Asia, Mongolia, Korea, Nepal, Burma and Japan.



CHAPTER VI

MUSLIMS

Mahmud Ghazni attacked Kashmir with a huge army of 'human locuts' over the Pir Panchal Pass in 1015 and 1021 A.D. He met with opposition both from man and elements and had to retire. The successors of Didda were able to save the Kingdom of Kashmir from being swallowed up in the flood of Mohammedan conquest which submerged first the Punjab under Mahmud and later Northern India under Sahab-ud-Din Ghori. When Sir V. Smith says that Kashmir was protected by its inaccessible mountains he is right. Mahmud Ghazni possessed great energy and spirit of command joined to "burning ambition and the temper of Zealot". He was a go-ahead conqueror. He caused great pillage wherever he went in India. Mahmud was no constructive or farseeing statesman but he was a great lover of learning. Had he taken hold of Kashmir it cannot be said what fate the previous civilisations would have met at his hands.

From 1295-1324-25 A.D. the throne of Kashmir was occupied by Raja Simha Dev. In his time came to Kashmir* from Swat, Renchen Shah[1] from Tibet and Lankar Chak[2] from Dardistan. They took service under the king and were granted Jagirs[3].

Little could the king foresee that the very men he was harbouring in his kingdom with such kindness and traditional hospitality would one day overthrow

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* He was a grandson of Fur Shah, a famous hermit. This man traced his pedigree thus: Shah Mir, the son of Tahir, the son of Ali, the son of Koershasp, the son of Nikodur, a descendant from Arjun. the Pandu an infidel. Historians have dismissed this fanatastic claim of such geneology.

1. He was a Tibetan Prince who had been defeated by his uncle.

2. He was a ruler of Dardistan who was vanquished in a battle by his enemies.

3. There is mention of invasions by Marco Polo and Mongol Nikodur also but nowhere are any relevant references available which could connect them historically with this country.

his rule in Kashmir. He well played the host but the guests, untrue to their salt, returned his hospitality in a way of which very few parallels can be had in the world's history. In 1322 A.D. Zulfi Kadir Khan *alias* Dulch, a descendant of Changez Khan, the Terrible, came from Turkestan with a force of 70,000 cavalry and invaded Kashmir. He wrought havoc in the country and carried with him a booty of about 50,000 Brahmins and slaves who perished on the way of a snow-storm near a place called the Devasar Pass[4].

Simha Dev fled to Kishtwar* and Ram Chand returned and declared himself king but was soon killed treacherously by Renchen Shah and Shahmir who had intrigued against him when he was sleeping in his room. Renchen Shah became the most influential man in the court and he married Kuta Rani, daughter of Ram Chand. Being disgusted with the hostile attitude of the Hindus** he took a vow that he would adopt the religion of the person he would see early the next morning. It is said that the person whom he first saw the next morning was one Bulbul Shah who afterwards converted him to Islam. Renchen Shah (1325-1327) A.D.) assumed the title of Sadar-ud-Din. He persecuted the Hindus with a spirit of vengeance. This short sighted policy of the Hindus has often harmed the very cause for which they stand. He built Bulbul Lankar and Khankah. Renchen Shah died after ruling for about two years and seven months.

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4. The city of Srinagar was also set on fire by this barbarous invader.

*The small Hill State of Kashthavata (modern Kishtwar) was ruled by a Rajput family which was a dependent of Kashmir, as the name of a king, Uttamaraja of Kashthavata, appears among the names of those eight feudatories who attended on Kalsha, king of Kashmir in 1073 A. D. The article of Hutchinson and Vogel in "J. Punjab H. S.," Vol. IV (p 29-41) may be referred to on the subject. It seems that the first king Kahnapala, who was sprung from the Suket family, came to this part later and conquered it in about 1200 A.D. or thereafter. This State is now a part of Kashmir, having been conquered by the Sikhs in the days of Ranjit Singh. To what clan Uttamaraja's family belonged there is no material to determine.

**They were headed by one Deva Swami in their protest against his admission to their caste.

After his death, Udyandev (brother of Simhadev) returned and ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. He married the widow-queen and reigned for a period of about fifteen years.[1] In 1331 A.D. Urwan, a Tartar Chief, invaded Kashmir via Hirpur. The king fled towards Tibet[2] but the queen showed enormous courage. Shah Mir who was Prime Minister offered his hand to Kuta Rani but she refused. She also is said to have reigned for a period of about fifty days. Kuta Rani brought about her own death in order to escape from the cruel hands of Shah Mir who seized the throne and declared himself king under the title of Shams-ud-Din in 1343 A.D. The full story of the tragedy runs like this :—

On Kuta Rani's refusal of Shah Mir's offer he went and laid siege to her palace in order to compel her to accept his offer. The siege continued for a long time. The gallant Rani held out splendidly. At last tired and exhausted she decided to give way to avoid further blood-shed of her faithful servants. She sent a message to Shah Mir that she would now accept his offer. Shah Mir became overjoyed at this. A day for the marriage ceremony was settled. There were rejoicings in the whole country. The Rani wore a rich costume and precious ornaments[3].

But Kuta Rani stabbed hereself to death on his entering her apartment and called him a despicable wretch for cherishing the idea of marrying his master's widow who was thus his mother. He hardly ruled for about four years. Shams-ud-Din demanded one-sixth of the total produce as revenue. He was not a bad king but he introduced his own era commencing from the date of coronation of Renchen Shah.

1. Shah Mir served as Prime Minister under him.
2. He died after reigning for 15 years and two months.
3. The queen has set a noble example so far as character at least is concerned. There is no evidence available that Kuta Rani had embraced Islam. According to another account Kuta Rani and her two sons were thrown by Shah Mir into prison where they died

Ferishta says that Kuta Rani had consented, reluctantly though, to become the wife of Shah Mir and to embrace Islam. This is an event which secured to him the country he had before nearly usurped. He further says that the second day after his marriage Shah Mir imprisoned his wife and proclaimed himself king. This account does not look convincing.

Shah Mir was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Jamshed (1347-1348 A.D.)*. His younger brother Ali Sher rebelled against him and defeated him near about Avantipura. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Ali Sher (1348-1360 A.D.) repaired many buildings and founded Ala-ud-Dinpura.** His last days were marked by a great famine. He was followed by his eldest son Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1360-1378 A.D.). He consolidated internal administration and subjugated almost all the neighbouring chiefs. During conquests abroad his forces gave a challenge to Feroz Shah Tuglaq. A treaty was signed and Shahab-ud-Din was recognised king of the whole territory from Sirhind to kashmir. During the reign of this Sultan many a temples of the Hindus were demolished. His last days were miserable due to the divorce of his first wife and a severe flood which devastated corn fields. His brother Kutab-ud-Din (1378-1394 A.D.) was a patron of learning. The Chief of Lohara (Loharkot) was killed during his contest against the king. Kutab-ud-Din*** welcomed Hassan Shah to his court after the death of his father but when he rebelled the Sultan caught him and put him in a prison.

During his reign there came one Mir Syed Ali****

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*He fixed land revenue at 17%.

**About this period some Brahmins endeavoured to migrate to Kashgar. The king supposing it to be for the purpose of a revolt caused them to be seized and confined for life.

Places of workship retained their sanctity. Shahab-ud-Din (1360-78 A.D.) refused to melt the brass image of Brihat Buddha and coin the metal into money.

***Kutab-ud-Din performed a Hindu religious sacrifice and gave lands to Brahmins to avert a famine. Sikandar's birth is attributed to the efficacy of the magic pill of a Hindu Ascetic. He was married to a Hindu girl, Sri Sobha.

****According to certain accounts this was his second visit to Kashmir the first being in the reign of Shahab-ud-Din (1360-1378 A.D.).

from Hamdan and he engaged himself in proselytising. Conversions went on undisturbed for some time but force seldom kills the soul of a people.

Sikandar, the Iconoclast,* (1394-1417 A.D.) has won some notoriety in the pages of history for persecution of the Hindus and desecration of their temples including those at Martand, Avantipura, Pandrethan, Ganeshbal and Bijhiharal.[1] It is said that he was prejudiced against the Hindus by his minister Suya Bhat, a Hindu convert to Islam, and this may be correct but it does not exonerate the king from his prejudicial policy against Hindus. In his time Timur (1398 A.D.) invaded India but Sikandar evaded him hy sending him rich presents. Nevertheless he was a strong ruler. The defeat of Rajamadri and the visit of Syed Mir Mohammd Himdani are worth mentioning here. Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah (1417-1423 A.D.). He was also no tolerant of other faiths. He was a contemporary of Henry VI of England. In his time unrest and tyranny prevailed in the country and there was chaos. Life and property were unsafe. Hindus were put to great difficulties.

Zain-ul-Abdin *alias* Badshah (1423-1474 A.D.), the Tolerant, reigned peacefully for a period of about fifty years.

"Wisdom and prudence in all that he did were revealed;
The faculties hoods seemed under his crown concealed".

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*He was Wycliff inaugurating Lollord moment in England, contemporary of Richard II, son of Black Prince of England and Henry IV and V.

1. In another place there was a temple built by Raja Bulnat, the destruction of which was attended with a remarkable coincidence. After it had been levelled and the people were employed in digging the foundation, a copper-plate was discovered on which was the following inscription according to Ferishta :—

"Raja Bulnat, having built this temple, desired his astrologer to say how long it would last. He was told that after eleven hundred years, a king named Sikandar, would destory it as well as other temples." The king was surprised, though vexed, that the Hindu prophet should have predicted the truth,

He was a great monarch who loved his subjects well. He gave freedom of thought in religion to all. It was in his time that there came from the plains the Kaul and the Dar families headed by Pandit Maheshwar Nath Kaul and Mirza Pandit Dar. Their off-shoots are still called Bhanamasis. Zain-ul-Abdin[2] was a great patron of learning and maintained good many scholars, both Hindu and Muslim at his court. Once he had a quarrel with the poet Mulla Ahmad.[3] The poet was banished but he was soon recalled on writing a panegyric. Hindus gained great favour under him and got many offices in the State. Those who accepted offices came to be called *Karkuns* (official class) and the rest *Bachabats* (priestly class). The latter devoted themselves to religious study and the performance of Vedic rites. The two sections now form two distinct castes and still do not intermarry.

He was also a great engineer and builder. He caused Nalla Mar (a canal) to be dug out. This was crossed by seven bridges at intervals. In the town of Naushera (founded by him), he constructed a magnificent palace, twelve storeys high, of which each storey contained fifty rooms, each of which could accommodate five hundred persons at once. This huge building was called Zaina Dab. Zainagir, Zainapur, Zaina Pattan, Zaina Kundal, Zaina Kut, Zaina Bazar, Zaina Kadal on the Jhelum in Srinagar and Zaina Lank (now known as Sona Lank) are also attributed to him. That is not all. A great dam was builts from Anderkot to Sopore which also served the purpose of a road. It is said that one day one of the princes while moving in a boat threw a pebble on an earthen jar carried by a Hindu lady from the Ali Kadal ghat. The prince, suddenty swooned and the water did not fall from the jar. Was it due to some spiritual power ? The prince,

2. What respect Akbar won in the 16th century, Zain-ul-Abdin had earned about a century earlier. Both commanded equal respect in their time.

3. In his time Mulla Ahmed Kashmirii translated Mahabharata into Persian and Uttha Soma wrote Zaina Charita. The indigenous university was known as Dar-ul-Alum.

however, was restored back to health at the request of the Sultan* which he made to the husband of the lady. Once when the Sultan fell ill it was Sheri Bhat who cured him. What remuneration would he not get from the Sultan but the pious physician got the Jazia tax abolished in favour of his community. Two centuries later an English physician obtained a *firman* from Jahangir allowing the English a foothold on the Indian port to carry on trade. The octroi post called "Sheri Bhatun Guzar" near about Vicharnag, probably commemorates his name. Zain-ul-Abdin was the first monarch who introduced papier machie, carpet making, paper making, apples and pears in Kashmir. In war he was indefatigable. He conquered Tibet and the Punjab and spread his kingdom from Peshawar to Sirhind.[1] The Chaks set fire to Zaina Dab but they were flogged and driven back to the country of the Dards. Pandu Chak, a feudal lord, was shown much favour. Tradition says that a Hindu spirit had entered into his body which moved his feelings towards the Hindus.[2] Over and above he was just and merciful, but the civil war among his sons made his last days restless.

Zaina-ul-Abdin read Yogavashishta. "The king administered punishment and reward to his subjects with due regard to their merits and watched over them with care as the husbandman watches over the crop, supplying water or keeping the field dry as may seem suitable." Tilkacharya (a Buddhist) was his Prime Minister, Suyabhatta was Chief Justice and Darayabhan, Home Minister. He himself wrote a treatise on fire works.

*There is no doubt about the fact that the Hindus of that time were more religious minded and spiritually disposed. It is said that faith can move mountains.

1. The Raja of Tibet sent a pair of birds caught on the Lake of Mansarowar. They were excessively beautiful and possessed the extraordinary faculty of separating particles of milk from water if they were mixed, after which they used to drink each separately. Badshah had an army of one lakh infantry and 30,000 cavalry.

2. Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin zad khima dar khulde barin—Banur shud tajo nagin bahur shud arso sama—
As bahari tarikhash ayan ba sar shudah audar Jaham-Adl o karam ilm o'alam jah o hasham sud o safa.

In his time lived Jonaraja and Srinara, the historians, Karpurabhatta, the physician, Ruppabhatta, the astronomer, Ramananda, the commentator and Yudhanbhatta, the Vedantist.

Tsakadar, Karala, Avantipur, Shahkul, Lachmakul are among the other canals that he laid out. Silk worms were imported from Khurasan. Fire-arms were introduced in 1466. Among his conquests are also included Sind and Tibet.

Haji Khan *alias* Haidar Shah (1474-1475 A.D.) was a drunkard. He persecuted the Hindus and desecrated their temples. Then followed Hassan Shah (1475-1487 A.D.). He did not trouble the Hindus very much. Having routed his uncle Bairam Khan, he attempted an invasion of Delhi at the instigation of the Raja of Jammu but Tartar Khan, the Delhi Governor, defeated the combind troops of Jammu and Kashmir. Fateh Shah came to the throne in 1489 A.D. He converted 24,000 Brahmin families into Islam. Whether it was by force or persuasion it is difficult to ascertain. Nature also applied her wrath against the Hindus. Nine thousand Hindus died on their way to Haramukh Ganga. The place where they perished is called Hap Radan (dead defile)*. The whole period from 1493 to 1554 A.D. is covered by wars of successions.

Disorder was rampant everywhere. Two comets appeared in Kashmir in the year 1533 during Mohammad Shah's reign. The appearance of a comet is an evil omen.

Bigotry on either side did impede progress but the fusion of two cultures and civilisations resulted in the reaction of a national spirit that is writ large on the forehead of a Kashmiri today who still holds the torch, in spite of caste or creed.

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*Az biyaban Kashida sar tarikh,
Ghul Gufta—"Tabahiye Panditan."

"Having lifted its head from the desert the date was said by the will-o'-the-wisp—the destruction of the Pandits".

Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah were at war with each other and each set fire to the city, simply for this that either of the two might have the consolation that his opponent would find it a waste if he ultimately succeeded to take it. In 1532 Humayun's brother, Kamaran Mirza, invaded Kashmir but was repulsed with loss.

Kashmir was at one time divided into three principalities, Nazuk Shah (1540-1551 A.D.) being pageant king over all. The death by conspirators of Mirza Haidar in 1550 is also mentioned.

A great earthquake in Kashmir destroyed the town of Jadra with most of its inhabitants (6,000 souls) which changed the course of the river Jhelum at Dumpora (1554).

Sultan Haider invited Humayun to become king. The army refused and Humayun returned to Kabul.

CHAPTER VII

CHAKS (1554-1586 A.D.)

The Chaks were unknown people. They came from the country of the Dards and resembled Marhattas. During Raja Simhadev's reign, as mentioned earlier, there lived a certain Lankar Chak who secured a job in the king's service. With the advance of time his clan grew in number and influence. The first Chak is said to have been born of a Kashmiri woman and an amorous demon. The lively pools of Trigam were their frequent haunts. "Raman Kan" are the arrows aimed by gods at them. There are other stories equally fantastic current about them in folklore. The Chaks were Shias. Ghazi Khan* (1554 A.D.) was the first ruler. He was a descendant of Lankar Chak. He converted a number of Hindus to Shia religion. About seven rulers of this line ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. They were petty kings, one and all, except one of them who founded Gulmarg** and another, Hassan Chak, gave his daughter in marriage to Saleem, the future Jehangir. Akbar sent a huge army against the Chaks under the command of Mirza Kazim (the first invasion came under Raja Bhagwandas). He came through Rajouri and defeated the Chaks in 1586 A.D. Below is given a table showing the line of succession :

Ghazi Chak	...	1554-1563 A.D.
Hassan Shah[1]	...	1563-1570 A.D.
Ali Shah[2] ...	...	1570-1579 A.D.
Yusaf Shah[3]	...	1579-1580A.D.***
Sayed Mubarak Khan		1580 six months and two days.
Lohar Shah	...	1580-1581 A.D.
Yusaf Shah[4]	...	1581-1585 A.D.
Yakub Shah[5]	...	1585-1586 A.D.

*Ghazi Khan and his party having overcome in the contest with Daulat Chak, deposed Ibrahim Khan of Kashmir, blinded him and put his brother Ismail on the throne. Daulat Chak was seized and his eyes put out by Ghazi Khan in 1555 A.D.

**Gulmarg used to be called Gaurimaga or the meadow of Gauri, wife of Shiva. Yusaf Shah who used to visit the place during the hot season changed its named into Gulmarg (flowery meadow).

Internecine wars were a special feature of this period which covers about one-third of the century. None of these kings attempted any constructive programme. The Chaks would employ any means, fair and foul, to get revenue. What they had inherited they delivered to the great Moghul. The fall of the Dynasty was inglorious indeed and it eclipsed their meteoric rise to power. Magre and Tsak, the former natives and the later domiciled foreigners, made a bid for power until the coming of the Moghuls.

The only thing they could do was to allow Shias to gain some influence. People as a whole remained as backward as before. With the Chaks, however, closed the independence of Kashmir. Even Kashmir prevented subjugation of the country by Tuglaqs. According to Abul Fazal it is inside causes that brought success to Akbar, denied even to Babar and Humayun. Lalitaditya had warned Kashmir rulers against raising troops from a single district.

***Yusuf Shah and Habba Khatun's love romance is a poetic episode in the romantic literature of Kashmir. It was at her suggestion that he founded centres of learning. Habba Khatun was a peasant girl who later became queen. Her tomb is still at Pandrethon. In 1951 Kashmir paid a glowing tribute to her memory.

1. Ghazi Chak abdicated in favour of his brother, Hassan Shah, but repenting collected a force to dethrone him. This being dispersed without an action, the old king was compelled to retreat to Zainpur (1563).

Khannuz Zaman, the Prime Minister, attacked the palace. His scheme for sovereignty being frustrated, he was subsequently executed in 1565.

The king blinded his nephew and rival Ahmad Khan in 1566. Feuds arose in Kashmir between the Hanfia and Shia sects in 1568. Akbar sent an embassy to Kashmir, but executed the ambassadors on their return for instigating the murder of a certain holy man. He also refused to marry the daughter of the king who soon after died of grief in 1572.

2. The king received an embassy from Delhi and proclaimed Akbar, Emperor of Kashmir, in 1572.

3. Ali Shah was killed by a fall from his horse. His son, Yusaf Shah, fled to Hindustan on account of revolts (1578). Akbar sent a force to re-establish the king on the throne of Kashmir. Lohar Chak, the rival ruler, was blinded (1579). Certain nobles became disaffected, assembled in Tibet and marched on Kashmir but were seized and the leaders mutilated (1580).

4. Yusaf Shah, hearing of a proposed visit of Akbar, according to Ferishta, wished to escort him to Kashmir but was prevented by his nobles. He was given a small Jagir in Bihar. Akbar deputed a force to conquer the country. Haider Chak was defeated—1584.

5. Akbar sent another force to which the king submitted. He was enrolled among Akbar's nobles and Kashmir became a province of the Moghul Empire. The king's father was detained at Delhi—1586.

CHAPTER VIII

MOGHULS

The Muslims of India had grown ineffective. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The king's writ was on longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the *Tawaif-ul-Muluk*. Babar who had failed in his native home came to India and founded a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the pages of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haider of Auritapa and Sikandar Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing.* Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1585 A.D. A deputation from Kashmir submitted a petition to Akbar which included an invitation to him. Kashmir had grown tired of misrule. A pact was signed.

(a) That the king shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of goods and the rates of food grains and cereals.

(b) That the Officers of the Government shall have no male or female Kashmiri as a slave.

(c) That the inhabitants of Kashmir shall not be molested in any way.

(d) That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief in the past shall have no share in the administration of the country.

Akbar, the Guardian of Mankind, (1556-1605 A.D.) was a contemporary of "Queen Bess" of England. After centuries of unrest and oppression he restored peace to the country. His is the noblest figure among

*Kashmir had been attacked from the side of Ladakh by Mirza Haider 1541-51 A D. (the author of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi) in 1532 and again invaded from the south in 1540, and ruled by him (nominally on behalf of Emperor Humayun) until his death eleven years later—Imperial Gazeteer.

Muslim monarchs who ever shone on the throne of India*. He built the Hari Parbat Fort and the city of Nagar inside the huge wall that runs round Hari Parbat. Akbar brought his Finance Minister named Raja Todar Mal with him to Kashmir. He fixed his camp at Pattan, measured the whole land and settled the revenue.

The labourers** who were employed in the construction of the new city were paid at the rate of six annas a day if married and four annas if unmarried. Akbar*** maintained an army of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his time Kashmir yielded a revenue of about one crore.[1] Akbar was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all manly exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished Jazia and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim

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*Even such an Emperor as Akbar does not eclipse the sweet momery of Zain-ul-Abdin in the annals of Kashmir. According to Lt. Newal, Akbar introduced *pheron* and *kangri* to make people effeminate. He visited Kashmir in 1588 and 1596.

**The number amounted to about thirty thousand porters or coolies. This anecdote shows that marriage was officially encouraged then and wages were paid to labour on socialistic basis, more or less. The author of 'Ayeen Akbary' writes; "His Majesty has made three journeys to Cashmere via Pirpanchal. If an ox or a horse be Killed upon these mountains, there immediately ensues a tempest with snow and rain. Although Cashmere is populous and money scarce, yet a thief or beggar is scarcely known amongst them. The inhabitants chiefly live upon rice, fish and vegetables, and they drink wine. In their cities and towns there are neither snakes, scorpions nor other venomous reptiles. Here is a mountain called Mahadev, and every place from whence it can be seen is free from snakes but the country in general abounds with flies, gnats, bugs and lice. The Cashmerians have a language of their own but their books are written in the Sanskrit tongue although the character be sometimes Cashmerian(usually Devnagari). They write chiefly upon Tooz (Bharjapatra) which is the bark of a tree. Formerly they knew only the Hindu sciences but now they study those of other nations. The most respectable people of this country are the Reshees (Rishi) who revile not any other sect and ask nothing of any one. They abstain from flesh and have no intercourse with other sex. The Hindus regard all Cashmere as a holy land. The revenue was 74,67,00,411 Dams (Khirwar—29 Dams) out of which 9,01,663 Khirwars and 8 traks were paid in money and were equivalent to 1,20,22,183 Dams. The revenue fixed by Asaf Khan is 30,79,543 Khirwars out of which 10,15,330½ Khirwars are in money. The army consists of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. The eastern division is known as Maraj and the western division as Kamraj".

***Akbar called Kashmir his private garden.

1. This is doubtful.

X Mr. G.L. Kaul is not aware of the fact that 'Kangri' beared the name of "Kashta-Angarika" in Kalhana's Rajtarangini, so his above statement is completely wrong.

sovereigns upon their Hindu subjects and gave high posts to the Hindus.

Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir, the Great Moghul, 1605-1627 A.D. He was a prince of luxurious taste. He built Shalimar, Chishma Shahi, Naseem and Verinag which stand to this day. He considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green ground of the Valley. But he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to "Wein, Weib, Und Gesang." Well goes the saying. "He that diggeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting." Jehangir was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to Delhi. When Jehangir was dying he was asked if he wanted anything. He replied "Kashmir".[1]

Az Shah-i-Jehangir dame naza chu justand
Ba khwahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.

History records that the Raja of Kishtwar was brought to knees in 1620 A.D. by Jehangir's armies.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained against (Qulich) Kullbah Khan (1606-1609 A.D.) to Emperor Jehangir.* He sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian :—

"Hakumat Panaha, Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,
shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi
tashnagan bire warnah as hukumat barkhez."

"O protector of administration ; thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration." The Governor was dismissed for not heeding the warning.

Some maintain that Ahmad Beg Khan, the Governor, was an evil star for Kashmir (1615-1618 A.D.).

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1. He sang—
Agar firdaus bar rue zamin ast,
Hamin ast o hamin ast o hamin ast,

*Francisco Pelsaert of Antwerp gives a sorry picture of Kashmir during his reign.

Shah Jahan, the Magnificent (1627-1658 A.D.), was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. The Moghuls were Muslims of a noble breed. There are many instances to show how just and also how tolerant they were towards other faiths. "He ruled from the Peacock Throne and spread hands of command from Balkh to Himalaya." Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir many times.*

Zaffar Khan (1633-1640 A.D.) abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boatmen. Ali Mardan Khan (1642 A.D.) was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with whose help he built-up sarais on the Pir Panchal route.[1] It was during his time that Muslims, headed by one fanatic Khawaja Mam, set fire to Pandit Mahadev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor Shah Jahan he was very much incensed and the offenders were punished. An expedition was appointed during Ali Mardan Khan's time (1650-1657 A.D.) to proceed from Kashmir to Tibet to subdue a rebel, Mirza Jam, and to capture Fort Skardu. Tibet was annexed to the Delhi Empire on August 15, 1651.

Writes Mr. M. R. Qanugo in the Journal of Indian History for April 1929 :—

"In Kashmir, Shah Jahan changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. In the month of Rabi-Ussani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimber Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Muslims were to be buried and

*He recited the following couplet—
Khurd gandam adam as jounal kashidaudash birum
Mau ki khurdam ash-i-jau yarab be Kashmiran rasan.

1. It was only a foot path then.

Muslim girls married by Hindus to be burnt according to Hindu custom after death. The Emperor as the protector of the Faith ordered that the Hindus who married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jagu, a Zamindar of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated, through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty, with all his kinsmen accepted Islam and was honoured with the title of "Raja Daulatmand". Even as it is, it looks incompatible with Moghul sense of justice.

Aurangzeb, the Man of no Tastes, (1658-1707 A.D.) undid what his father had done. He was a contemporary of Charles II, James II and William III* George Foster who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by Aurangzeb. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lakhs of rupees and the Governor who collected this sum took twenty lakhs for himself. It is possible that a Governor on the spot did things which were not approved by the Emperor and often it proved so[1].

While Aurangzeb was reigning in Delhi, a sage named Pir Pandit Padshah** (so says the tradition) had fascinated people here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned him to his court. The Pir's spirit went to the court through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor was horrified and Pir Pandit was no more annoyed[2]. Aurangzeb visited Kashmir once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were

* There are different versions available about Aurangzeb which simply baffle the student. He was indeed religious minded and he did not harbour good feelings about those who did not profess his faith. According to others he did only what his conscience dictated him to do.

**Some writers maintain that Rishi Pir Pandit lived in the time of Jehangir.

1. Lalla Rookh by Thomas Moore was published in 1817. It is an account of journey of Aurangzeb's daughter from Delhi to Kashmir where she was to be married to the young King of Bucharia.

2. This is only a tale and cannot therefore be taken as historically true because no historian has mentioned it.

employed from Bhimber to Kashmir and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried.

Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the province ordered by the Emperors (Casuri-i-farmaith), and (c) change in or deduct from men's salaries due. During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Mubarez Khan (1667-68 A.D.) was a good natured but indolent man and his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. Muzaffar Khan (1690-1692) and his brother, Abu Nasar Khan (1692-1698 A.D.), both sons of "Shaista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. Fazal Khan (1698-1701 A.D.) in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many cesses of former times such as *hasil-i-ghalak* (tax on earthen jars), *nimak* (salt duty) and *damdari* (tax on bird catcher). During Ibrahim Khan's viceroyalty (1701-1706 A.D.) there occurred a civil war between the Shias and Sunnis. Aurangzeb on hearing of these occurrences removed Ibrahim Khan from viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released. Iftikhar Khan (1671-1675) won a lot of notoriety by unnecessarily torturing Hindus and the following account will throw light on his policy*.

* The following is briefly the account recorded in Gurmukhi in the Guru Khalsa Twarikh by Bhai Gyan Singh Gyani in its Part III, page 1854, and also in the same language in the Suraj Parkash by Bhai Santosh Singh Gyani (in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in its Part I Chapter X,

"Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards the Pandits in Kashmir and was forcibly converting them

The long roll of natural calamities during the half century of Aurangzeb's reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1681), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1676), one flood (1682) and a famine (1688). The conquest of Greater Tibet whose ruler, styled Daladal Mamjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused coins to be struck and the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital (1666). In 1683 when the Black Qalmaqs invaded his country he begged the aid of his Suzerain. An Imperial force sent from Kabul under Fidai Khan (the son of the Kashmir Subedar Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaqs out, re-installed the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty.*

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to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and make them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their harems. Some pious men from amongst the Pandits then decided to go to Amar Nath and invoke mercy of Shiva for deliverance from the tyrannies of this bigot. At the Amar Nath Cave one of the Pandits saw Shiva in a dream, who told him to go to Teg Bahadur, the Ninth Sikh Guru, in the Punjab and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. About 500 Pandits collected and proceeded to Amritsar and thence to Anandpur where Guru Teg Bahadur was living. They told him about the terrible atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's Governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son, Guru Gobind Singh who was then a child of nine years of age and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pandits sitting there in distress and his father mute as a fish. Guru Teg Bahadur pointing towards the Pandits, told his son mournfully that these Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and that he thought they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrificed for them. Guru Gobind Singh with folded hands said to him "Father, who else is a holier man, fit for being sacrificed than yourself for saving Hindu religion ? It is, you know, the foremost duty of a Kshatriya to give his head for rescuing the cow and the Brahmin". Guru Teg Bahadur told him. "I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that as you are a child of nine years only, who would take care of you after me ?" Guru Gobind Singh replied earnestly "Almighty God would take care of me." Guru Teg Bahadur was pleased to hear this courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of Pandits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight-way that they, together with all the Brahmins in Kashmir, were quite ready to embrace Islam if Teg Bahadur, who was the Chief Guru of the Hindus, would first be converted. The Pandits went to Nawab Zalim Khan, the then Governor of Lahore and presented to him their petition which had been dictated by Guru Teg Bahadur. The Governor gladly endorsed it and gave it back to the Pandits for presenting it to the Emperor at Delhi. He gave them all necessary help for reaching the place of safety. They went and presented the petition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor was highly gratified to

*This normal conquest of Greater Tibet was a great achievement for Aurangzeb.

Bernier visited Kashmir in 1664. He says that *Begari* rate was Rs. 20/- per 100 lb. weight. Elsewhere he writes: "The people of Kashmir are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans. The women especially are very handsome and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Moghul, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moghuls."

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look very important. The Moghul prestige deteriorated gradually during Aurangzeb's successors. In 1720 A.D. Mulla Abdul Nabi *alias* Mulla Khan** who was the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir, gave instructions to the

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read it, as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his design. He called the Qazis and Maulvies in a Durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course, they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pandits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangements for their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselytising for, he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

"Aurangzeb sent a letter by an official to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anandpur, inviting him to come to Delhi. Before the Imperial Officer reached him, the Guru, accompanied by five attendants, started for Agra on 11th Har, 1732 (24th June, 1675 A.D.). At Agra he was arrested by the Kotwal there and sent to the Emperor at Delhi on 1st Maghar, 1732 (15th November, 1675 A.D.). He had an interview with the Emperor. The latter pressingly solicited to him to embrace Islam. The Guru had words with him roaring emphatically that he spurned the idea. The Emperor, thereupon, being off the hooks, wrinkled his brows and ferociously ordered the executioner to take the Guru to a place to be beheaded there. While being taken to be put to death, the Guru quietly told one of his five attendants, Bhai Jita, that after he was beheaded, he should take away his head to Guru Gobind Singh. On 13th Maghar, 1732 (27th November, 1675 A. D.) Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Bhai Jita stealthly took away his head. When he neared Anandpur, Guru Gobind Singh went forth to meet him and, bowing reverently, received his father's head. In the turban bound round the head was found a paper with the following words written thereon:—

"*Sari-khud dadam magarsar-i-Khuda na dadam*" meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret (i.e. religion). The head, which wore the glorious crown of martyrdom, was duly cremated. Guru Gobind Singh being intensely grieved at the ferocity of Aurangzeb in killing his innocent father, took a solemn vow to avenge his death by taking to arms and embarking on a crusade to free the country from the Muslims." It is this canker which free India is killing.

**Mulla Khan and Mir Ahmad Khan following a common faith are nevertheless contrasts.

then Governor, Mir Ahmad Khan, to treat the Hindus harshly but the honest Governor refused. Mulla Khan then excited the Mohammedans against the Hindus. Mulla Khan was later on beheaded by one Sayid Azhar Khan in a Shia's house which resulted in the massacre of the Shias also at the hands of Sunnis. Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din succeeded his father as Sheikh-ul-Islam.

Abdul Samad, the fifth Governor, came from Lahore with huge army in 1722 A.D. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and in one excursion from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal he got about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the Hindus. There was justice again in the land and the poet sang :—

Haka an Samad phutrun zin,
Na rud kuni Sharaf no rud kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly ; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere".

During the Governorship of Abdul Samad Khan (1720-1723 A.D.) anti-Hindu disturbances broke out in Kashmir, instigated by Mahbub Khan, 'Abdul Nabi', which ended in riot and pillage and in which Mahbub and others were killed (1720 A.D.).

Abdul Barkh Khan was at war with his officials. Each party set fire to the city which resulted in the destruction of 20,000 houses. This happened in Dil Diler Khan's time (1735-1738 A.D.)

Fakhr-ud-Daula was deputed by Nadir Shah as Governor of Kashmir but Ati Ullah Khan (1739-1741) supported by his councillors opposed him destroying 15,000 houses of the city and suburbs.

It is recorded in an account that seven hundred and seventy gardens were laid out by the Moghuls in Kashmir alone. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and Kashmir

reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love Nature, they had a fine sense of art. Their route to Kashmir was Gujrat—Bhimber—Shopian.

Ab-ul-Fazal writes : "But the bane of this country is its people. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. They are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for mss. work and they write chiefly on *tuz* which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow minded conservatives, of blind traditions, are Sunnis. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brahmins who notwithstanding their need of fredom from the hands of tradition and custom are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against, not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. Saffron is also cultivated in Paraspur. Although 1/3 had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares are actually taken what has been reduced now to 1/2. The revenue amounted to 7 crores 46 lakhs 70,411 dams—(Rupees 18,66,766-4-5).".

A Kashmiri Sikh →





← A Ladakhi Butta

CHAPTER IX

AFGHANS

The Afghans came in 1753 A.D. under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durani.* Once again Kashmir fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subject to the tyrannical rule. This period, says Lawrence, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good work of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign and anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common everywhere.** About twenty-eight Governors ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan became Governor in 1754 A.D. and it was during his reign that the Hindus enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai in 1762 A.D.

Lal Mohammad Khan (1766 A.D.) prosecuted the Hindus against all canons of chivalry. Khoram Khan was an unbiased Governor. He treated the Hindus well.

Mir Faqir Ullah Kant (1767 A.D.) took into his head that since his father was killed and possibly at the hands of a Hindu he should take a heavy toll. Naturally he killed some and converted many to Islam. Khoram Khan (1770-71 A.D.) second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. Haji Karim Dad Khan (1776-83 A.D.) punished the entire Kant family for intriguing against him with Raja Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu.

Azad Khan (1782-85 A.D.) invaded Poonch with his troops which he plundered for a week. He was succeeded by Madad Khan (1785-86 A.D.) and there is a well-known proverb 'Zulmi Azad ra rasid Madad' which means that Madad outheroded Azad. In those days any Muslim who met a Hindu would say to him

*As under the imperious Duchess in Alice in Wonderland, the standing order of the day was "off with their heads."

**The nobles of Kashmir wrote to Ahmad Shah in 1747 to annex Kashmir. Whenever Kashmir was conquered by an outsider it was with the connivance of the people otherwise not. Mir Muqim Kant and Mahanand Pandit Dhar were the leaders who personally went to Lahore and sought intervention.

"Butta chhuk to khosa dita" (you are a Pandit and I will mount you).[1] In the time of Abdul Ullah Khan (1796-1807), Shah Shuja of Afghanistan marched to Peshawar for the conquest of Kashmir but he was recalled by Barukhazai rebellions—1805.

A Hindu named Dila Ram Kuli won favour of Haji Karimdad Khan and was appointed Dewan. Pandit Nand Ram Tiku, a renowned Kashmiri Pandit, became Prime Minister of Kabul during the Governorship of Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94 A.D.). For some time his name also appeared on the coins issued from Kabul. Zairam Bhan, a poor but sagacious Pandit, rose to the positian of Dewan (under Nasir-ud-Mohammad). Abdullah Khan is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his Governorship, this he took to Kabul. However bad the times were, the Hindus did exhibit their worth to the world and that under the patronage of their masters.[2]

The curse of this period was that the Governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an oppotunity when they would declare themselves independent. The result was that few constructive measures were contemplated and fewer still carried out. Says the poet—

Khwast haq kin zamin-i-minarang
Chun dilai nai shawad ba Afghan rang
Kard bar wai musallat Afghan ra
Bagha Jamshed Dad dewan ra
"God willed that this paradise like land should become miserable like the heart of (Hukka) Pipe with Afghan (or gurgling noise)
caused Afghans to overrun it
Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demon."

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1. This looks an exaggeration but Muslim writers have also admitted these atrocities.

2. During the Muslim rule, Hindus as a community, had lost all political influence and consequently lived a very humble life They adopted Muslim habits and customs. They read and taught Persian. The Persian culture penetrated their houses also. They would name their Drawing room 'Dewan-e-Khas' etc. But inspite of this adaptation they did not give up their social customs nor religious rites. At one time they were reduced to eleven families only. They could not be revived after six or seven hundred years.

This is another aspect of Afghan character. Even the so called heretic in their eyes could rise to the highest rung of the ladder. According to Dr. Sufi, Moghuls and Pathans discountenanced military service for Kasmiris. Elsewhere he says that Brahmins, Shias and the Bamhas were not treated properly (*Kashir*—677, 699). They sometimes cut off heads for plucking flowers.

'Sar buredan pesh in sangreen dilan gul chidan ast.'

CHAPTER X

SIKHS

Abdullah Ullah Khan (1796-1807 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Mohammad of Kabul at Dwabgah. The latter appointed his son Ata Mohammad Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1807-13 A.D.). Ata Mohammad imprisoned Shah Shuja and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated but let of by Sikhs on promise of an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees. But they outwitted Mohammad Khan and conspired with the Sikh General, Dewan Muhkam Chand.

Shah Shuja promised to surrender the famous Koh-i-Nur and Ata Mohammad the fort of Attock. He thus struck a double bargain. Wazir Fateh Mohammad Khan appointed his brother Sardar Azim Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1813-19 A.D.). He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the Sikh squadron in a battle. Azim Khan went to help his brother who was engaged in war at Qundhar leaving Jabbar Khan (1819) behind to rule in his place. He compelled the Hindus to celebrate the Shivratri festival in the month of Har instead of in Phagan.* This was at last a demonstration of despotism. Pandit Birbal Dhar** fled to Lahore and sought help from the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh's[1] army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious Pandit promissed them success. His wife had committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to Kabul. To avenge this insult he planned this scheme. The Sikhs came over the Pir Panchal.[2] Their army consisted of

*It is inconceivable to think that their was snowfall in this month of the year, considered to be necessary for the ceremony by the orthodox Hindus as popularly believed.

**This Pandit could change the history of the country. Naturally he looms large in local annals for his intellectual feat. According to Vigne he was jailed by the Sikhs who were not favourable to him.

1. Ranjit Singh's first invasion through Panchal Pass in 1814 had failed.
2. Attacks via Tosha Maidan by Ranjit Singh and Mahmud Ghazni had failed before. It is through this route that Huien Tsang visited Poonch in 633 A.D.

30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at Shopian in 1819 A.D. in which the Pathans were routed. Man and horse fell before the onslaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the Afghans.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagination. In action he was always collected. He was not without faults. In youth he was liberal while in old age he became parsimonious. Moorecroft visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. There is no mention anywhere that Ranjit Singh ever visited Kashmir.

The Sikh Governors were hard and rough masters. Every shawl was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A Kotwal had to pay Rs. 30,000 for office.[3]

If a Sikh killed non-Sikh he was fined from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 out of which Rs. 4 were paid to the survivors of the killed. Kirpa Ram (1827-31) was nick-named 'Kirpa Shroin' (shroin being word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to Kashmir thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites.* In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1843 A.D. came the Bamhas under the leadership of Sultan Zabardast Khan. He was caught and imprisoned in Srinagar. To avenge this Sher Ahmad, the daring Bamha, destroyed seven thousand Sikhs at Kahori and marched with 8,000 match locks against Kashmir and defeated Imam-ud-din with an army of 12,000 strong at Shilbal. There upon Zabardast Khan was delivered back. This war weakened the Sikh hold in Kashmir. In the same year Mohi-ud-Din opened the gates of Jamia Masjid

3. These statements are refuted by some writers.

* In his time the country yielded a revenue of Rs 25 lakhs.

which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood. A big earthquake** and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which swept away bulk of the population.

The line of Emperors who proceeded from Babar's loins are no more. The Afghans and Sikhs also have disappeared. The Muslims were, as a general rule, shortsighted people deadly opposed to time honoured institutions other than their own. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called 'heretics' they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. Sikandar and rulers of his type grew to be the bugbears of the people. This is unfortunately in nut-shell the verdict of authentic history about some Muslim rulers in Kashmir. With all this the Hindu did not give up his study, however much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the Persian tongue better than its pioneers. The Muslims sometimes appreciated the merit of Hindus. Instances have been quoted showing how the Hindus often rose to high power only through merit. Says the author of 'Emerald set with Pearls', "These Eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration was superior to our own." The population of Kashmir in the present days is about 17,28,705[1] and nearly 90 out of every hundred are Muslims. Nine hundred years ago there were no Muslims north of the Punjab. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were neither too good nor too bad but internal dissensions among the Sirdars brought about their early fall. It is true that the people under them would have been none the better because they were only a martial class first and last with little vision to organise and to expand. In spite of about a quarter century of power in Kashmir the Sikhs did not expand beyond the valley. They were divided like the Highlanders of Scotland.

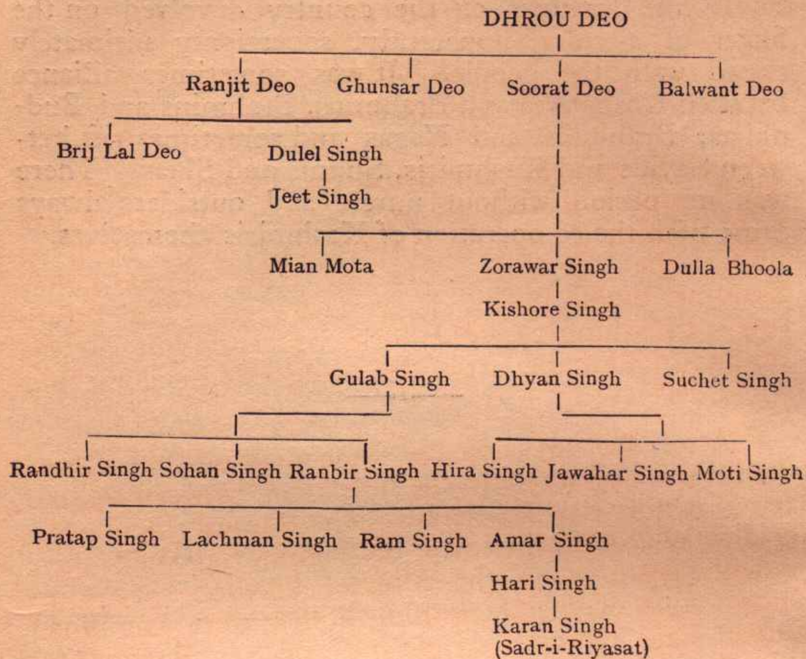
**In Srinagar 1,200 houses were destroyed and 1,000 lives lost.

1. These figures are taken from the Census Report of 1941.

While fortunes of the country devolved on the finger of a ruler, apparently, sovereignty ultimately rested with the people. It was sometimes alliance between Kashatrias and Brahmins, Brahmins and Buddhists, Brahmins and Nagas and sometimes rift between Sayids and Kashmiris, Sunnis and Shias. There was no period without unrest and outsiders always came with the co-operation of Kashmiris themselves.



GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DOGRA HOUSE



CHAPTER XI

DOGRAS

GULAB SINGH

Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir, was born in 1792 (5th Katik 1849 Bikrami Samvat)*. In his early days he lived under the personal care of his grand-father Zorawar Singh in his Jagir Dyawago. The future ruler of Kashmir received little education but he was trained in all manly arts. He could ride his horse and wield his sword.

After the invasion of Mohamad-ud-Din Ghori the Rajput hegemony in the hilly tract between Punjab and Kashmir was shattered. The Rajput rulers who held sway around the town of Jammu regained their independence when the Moghul kingdom began to show signs of disintegration. They were combined under Raja Dhrou Deo and his son Raja Ranjit Deo. The latter received a jagir from the Durrani king for help rendered against Raja Sukh Jewan of Kashmir in 1730 and ruled for 44 years.

Ranjit Deo had two sons, Brij Lal and Dulel Singh Brij Lal revolted against his father and later succeeded, him in 1780. Mohan Singh who is known to history as the brother of Ranjit Singh was a sworn friend of Brij Lal but he conspired against him and attacked Jammu. Thus the sovereignty of the house of Dhrou Deo over the surrounding country disappeared for the time being.

Gulab Singh was a descendant in direct line from Raja Dhrou through his third son, Mian Soorat Deo. Cunningham doubts the genealogy of Gulab Singh. But Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in his grant of the Raj of Jammu to Gulab Singh, mentioned the fact of Gulab

*Dogras are a people who reside between Chenab aad Sutlej, originally between Chenab and Ravi. Agni Varmon is the first known Dogra Raja who ruled Parole in Kathua District.

Singh's ancestors having been the rulers of the principality. Raja Dhrou Deo was a Rajput prince of the Surya Vansi (Solar) dynasty who ruled over Jammu in the eighteenth century.**

The affairs of Jammu being in confusion Ranjit Singh ordered in 1808 Bhai Hukam Singh to annex Jammu to the Sikh State. It was in this battle that young Gulab Singh fought so well that he won admiration from the enemy even. Gulab Singh intended to go to Kabul to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja but later changed his mind and joinded the army of Ranjit Singh in 1809 as trooper at Rs. 3/- p.m. in Mungla, west of Jhelum. Gulab Singh fought many battles and the siege of Multan in 1819 brought him to Ranjit Singh's favourable notice. In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820, Gulab Singh played a prominent role. At this time the hilly area around Jammu was under the influence of Mian Deo. Gulab Singh hit on a stratagem to subdue this bandit chief. His supplies were cut off and his fort attacked. Deo was killed while fighting.

In 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh as a jagir. Later on he was given the title of Raja and allowed to keep an army. In 1821 Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Kishtwar and on his way received homage from Dyal Chand, Raja of Chenani. Next Gulab Singh marched on Rajouri whose ruler Ajor Khan had given annoyance to Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Kashmir in 1813. It is in lieu of such services that Ranjit Singh granted to Gulab Singh and his successors the principality of Jammu with the hereditary title of Raja in 1822 A.D.

In 1841 Gulab Singh allowed passage to British army for invasion of Afghanistan which Ranjit Singh had refused at the time of first Afghan War.

Copy of the sanad granted by Ranjit Singh :

"On this auspicious occasion with extreme joy and

**The earlist mention of Jammu in recorded history is with Timur's invasion in 1398.

with heartfelt love, I grant to Raja Gulab Singh in recognition of his conscientious and loyal services, the government of the Chakla of Jammu which from time immemorial has been in the possession of his family. He and his brothers, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh appeared in my court at a very early age and loyally and devotedly served me and the State. Their ancestors also served faithfully for a long time under my father Mohan Singh Ji of happy memory. They spared no pains to render their services to me promptly and submissively and to give me satisfaction. They have always been found faithful to me and loyal to the State. They have shed their blood freely in many campaigns, such as the conquest of Kashmir, the seige of Multan, the punishment of the rebels, the suppression of rebellion on the frontier and the fight with the forces of Kabul. In consideration of these and other services I grant the government of the Chakla of Jammu to Raja Gulab Singh and his descendants and I myself mark the forehead of this loyal and devoted servant of mine with the emblem of sovereignty. With great pleasare I also grant Raja Suchet Singh, the Government of Ramnagar to be his own and his descendants, as a reward for the great services he has rendered to me. He and his descendants may dispose of its income on their own account provided that the Rajas be loyal to the State henceforward as they have been till now, that they receive our descendants with no less honour and submission and that their descendants be as loyal to us as our descendants. In witness of this I grant this Purwana of mine with my own hands together with a bunch of saffron."

Dated 4th Ashad 1879 (Vikram).

At the age of thirty, this was indeed a proud achievement for Gulab Singh. Tibet was next to be invaded. But this campaign could not be successful. He and Hari Singh Nalwa repulsed an attack from Kabul in 1823. In 1827 Gulab Singh was the overlord in Jammu having conquered Riasi, Kishtwar, Rajouri

and Samarth etc. except Poonch which belonged to Dhyan Singh and Ramnagar which belonged to Suchet Singh. The Illaqa being hilly and the people turbulent, Gulab Singh took great personal interest in the administration. He raised and kept in tact a reserve of money and trained and equipped an army. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 27th June, 1839 was followed by Court intrigues and internecine strifes. In the Afghan War of 1841 the British enlisted the support of the Sikhs who were not in any way anxious to help them in their Kabul expedition. This provided an opportunity for friendship between the British and Gulab Singh.* On 19th January, 1842, the British force was beaten back at the Khyber Pass. In recognition of his services the British Government sent him an appreciative Kharita on 8th April 1842. Gulab Singh was offered Jalalabad and was asked to give up Ladakh but this he did not accept. The murder of Dhyan Singh, Gulab Singh's brother, by Ajeet Singh in Badami Bagh Fort created further resentment in Gulab Singh against the Sikh Community. The uncle and the nephew, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh, came to grips in 1844 and this resulted in the death of the former. Then followed a dispute between Hira Singh and Gulab Singh. But Hira Singh died on 21st December 1844. The Sikh Sardars combind to smash the "Ulysses of the Hills" but he averted an all round attack. The Sikh army was defeated at Satwari on 3rd April 1845.

The same year war between the Sikhs and the British became inevitable, for the Sikhs felt convinced that the British Government wanted to annex Punjab. Gulab Singh who had counselled the Sikhs not to go to war with the British, remained neutral for a time. He was, however, persuaded to take charge of the Prime Ministership of the Sikh State on the 27th January 1846. He immediately started negotiations for a settlement. These negotiations failed when the British laid down the condition about the disbandment of the

*Gulab Singh obviously betrayed the Sikhs.

Sikh Army and the battle of Sobraon was fought on February 10, 1846. The British won, though at a huge cost. Gulab Singh again negotiated peace and secured a reasonably fair treaty for his sovereign Duleep Singh who was recognised as ruler on his ceding the territory between Beas and Sutlej and paying £15,00,000 as war indemnity. Gulab Singh's success in negotiating this treaty infuriated his rival Lal Singh who managed to get himself installed in his place. It was now that Gulab Singh realised the precariousness of his position. But Gulab Singh's opportunity was not long in coming. Lal Singh, his successor, in accepting the Treaty negotiated by him, protested his inability to pay the indemnity of £15,00,000. To deprive Gulab Singh of his territory and give the British the option of holding Kashmir—an impossible feat at that time, or accepting a reduced indemnity, he offered to hand over Jammu and Kashmir. This resulted in a revival of the original proposal to make Gulab Singh, the independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir with this difference only that now he had to pay a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs (Nanakshahi). In Gulab Singh's accepting this proposition, the Treaty of Lahore was signed on the 9th March 1846 as originally negotiated by him.

> "In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State towards procuring the restoration of the relation of amity between the Lahore and British Government, the Maharaja (Duleep Singh) hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government with dependencies thereof which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of Maharaja Kharak Singh and the British Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh who agrees to recognise independence in such territories and to admit him to the privilege of a separate Treaty with the British Government." This clause of the Treaty

of Lahore concluded under force of circumstances cannot exonerate the betrayer.

On the 16th March 1846, seven days after the Treaty of Lahore, Maharaja Gulab Singh signed the Treaty of Amritsar by which he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The "Sale of Kashmir", which is so much talked about is in reality more a fact than a myth. Kashmir was simply sold to Gulab Singh. The situation is not clarified when it is borne in mind that the areas surrendered by the Lahore Government between Ravi and the Indus were to be transferred to Gulab Singh according to Clause 12 of the Treaty of Lahore with Maharaja Duleep Singh, then an independent ruler, before the Treaty of Lahore was signed because the bargain was struck by the Britishers for their ally. According to Pannikar "The cession of Kashmir was the price paid for Gulab Singh's efforts to bring about a speedy peace which, if he had thrown in his weight with the Lahore Durbar, would not have been an easy matter to achieve. The ease with which the peace was concluded was due to the agreement reached with Gulab Singh by which Kashmir had already been promised to him.* It may be that the British could not conquer Kashmir in 1845, much less hold it, with Sutlej as their boundary, Ferozepur as their base, a hostile Punjab on the line of communications and the Sikhs ready to fight. It is true that Kashmir was not a part of India in the eighteenth century, not even till Ranjit Singh occupied it. It was an Afghan Province. And in all schemes for the partition of the Punjab, there may have been many proposals for allotment of areas, not necessarily Kashmir, as that would also lead to consolidation of Afghan empire and thus be a perpetual danger to the British. The British wanted to divide up the Sikh empire which would be a great menace if it extended from Multan to Gilgit. By snatching Kashmir out of it and passing it on to an ally the object was achieved, thus killing two birds

*This is another instance of a stab in the back.

with one stroke. Sir George Clark, Agent to the Governor-General at Lahore, wrote in March 1849 :-

"I have been under the necessity on more than one occasion of testing, rather severely, Gulab Singh's loyalty to us. My belief is that he is a man eminently qualified by character and surrounding territorial possessions for the position of ruler there, that all his interests lie on the side of frindship with us, that he will always desire and some time or another may need our countenance of his authority against enemies. Their aggressions, whether Chinese or Goorkhas on one side of him or Afghans on the other, will be retarted rather than precipitated by his proximity to them in that form instead of our being in more direct contact with them." Why did Ranjit Singh himself create a Dogra kingdom it may be argued ? He put off the Afghans. Lord Hardinge did the same for more cogent reasons.

Some do accuse Gulab Singh of treason against the Lahore Durbar and the death of Nao Nihal Singh, caused by the fall of the archway, was designed by him. Though incidentally he lost his eldest son, Udham Singh (Randhir Singh), Lord Hardinge says, "Was he (Gulab Singh) not the Minister and were not four other Commissioners associated with him for setting the terms of peace ?" Sir W.R. Lawrence says that when the second Sikh War coloured the map of the Punjab red, some regretted the transfer of Kashmir to the Dogra Chief. But in his opinion based on some knowledge of the possibilities of Kashmir it was fortunate that the English did not annex Kashmir because they had not annexed the Punjab yet.

Cunningham is of opinion that the English bargained with Gulab Singh. Mr. Sapru in his monograph No. 14 (Punjab Government Record Office Publication) pleads that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. "No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British province in less than three years and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh Durbar by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. Lal Singh wanting

to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself, thus further reducing the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh." Sir Richard Temple also says that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh, and thus effectively weaken it. The Maharaja remained faithful to the British to the last.

A. P. Nicholson in his famous book "Scraps of Paper" referring to this queston says :

"We sold the right to keep it, if he could conquer it, to Gulab Singh."

In the "Life of Hardinge" appears the following account, "It was necessary to......to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance from Kashmir to the Sutlej is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country, quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would be an undertaking that merited a strait-waist coat and not a peerage. The arrangement was the only alternative. The Government took away with one hand and gave with the other as the exigencies of the case required." To Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge wrote : "It was always intended that Gulab Singh whose troops had not fired a shot should have his case and position fully considered...... After the war commenced were we to abandon our policy and to treat the only man who had not lifted up his arms against us with difference because he came to headquarters especially deputed by the Lahore Durbar to confer with us as one who had joined in their unprovoked invasion ? His forbearance was rewarded because his forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy........" Again in a letter to the Secret Committee, the Governor-General wrote on March 14, 1846.

"On the other hand, the tract now ceded included the whole hill possessions of Raja Gulab Singh and the Jammu family. Its possession by us

enables us at once to mark our sense of Raja Gulab Singh's conduct during the late operations, by rewarding him in the mode in accordance with his desires."

The treaty only transferred to him the legal title, as no actual possession over Kashmir was handed over to him. He acquired the territory for himself though he did so with the help of the British. "Sold even a thousand times, Joseph is no slave."

"Their fields, their crops, their streams,
Even the peasants in the vale,
They sold, they sold all Alas !
How cheap was the sale.

—Iqbal.

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Dewan Lakhpat Rai to take pessession of Kashmir but Imam-ud-Din, the then Governor, did not surrender and offered resisance. The Hari Parbat Fort was siezed by him but subsequently the General was killed and his army was in imminent danger. Maharaja Gulab Singh* then applied to Sir Heney Lawrence for assistance in taking possession and when the combind forces of the Maharaja, the British Durbar and the Sikhs marched against the Governor, Imam-ud-Din, he surrendered declaring that he had acted according to the written instruction of Lal Singh.** When Maharaja Gulab Singh came to Kashmir he found the land divided into three categories—one part under mountains, one part under water and the rest under Jagirdars.[1]

*Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9th Nomber 1846 and reached Sher Garhi at 8 A.M.

**Brigadier Sheeler with Col. Henry Lawrence, the Resident, proceeded with troops to aid Gulab Singh. Imam-ud-Din stated that he was acting under instructions from Lal Singh, Wazir of Lahore, and afterwards surrendered to Col. Lawrence. His statement proving true, the Governor-General demanded the exile of Wazir Lal Singh.

1. After about a quater of a century of rule the Sikhs disappeared from Srinagar the place of influence. Duriug the Municipal elections in Twenties of the present century a handful of Sikhs only were registered as voters and they too were mostly domiciles. They survived as 'tillers of land', 'hewers of wood' and 'drawyers of water' in villages round Sirnagar and remained educationally backward.

Gulab Singh belonged to the school of Nepoleon, burning with a desire to conquer. But his contemporaries were too formidable to allow him to extend his conquests. He sought his game elsewhere and made war with the hill tribes on the frontiers. Wazir Zorawar Kalhoria who is belived to have led these campaigns has carved a name in the annals of Kashmir.** He (Gulab Singh) conquered Ladakh and Tibet in 1842, annexed Chilas in 1850 A.D. and subdued Gilgit in 1852 A.D. To conquer these hill Rajas was no easy task. They had forts built everywhere. Their army consisted of people who were proof against any kind of hardships.

**Rupkund Skeletons discovered recently at a height of 18,000 feet in the Himalayas on the Indo-Tibetan-border in Garhwal District might have been the dead bodies of the expeditionary force led by Zorawar Singh who invaded Western Tibet in 1841-42 according to a U.P. Forest Officer—(H.K.M.).

Zorawar Singh was not a Sikh, neither was he an employee of the Lahore Darbar. He was a Kalhoria Dogra Rajput belonging to the village of Kussal near Reasi, in Jammu Province. "Zorawar Singh was remarkable among his contemporaries for his absolute financial honesty. He never accepted a present from anyone, and whatever was given to him was sent to Gulab Singh. He carried this principle to such a length that he only wore the clothes that the Maharaja gave him and was content always with a very meagre salary. He had another peculiarity. He never sent despatches of any kind about his expeditions. The tributes and revenue collected were sent down post-haste to Jammu and the Maharaja had to discover from it what new country his General had conquered. By these conquests he and his family did not benefit to the extent of a single penny."

Kashmir came under the rule of Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, five years after the campaign to Tibet by the General. The route followed by him was via Kishtwar which formed a part of Jammu State.

According to Mr. Panikkar, the Dogra aımy under Zorawar Singh on his Tibetan expedition consisted of 5,000 soldiers, most of them were Balti and Ladakhi recruits strengthened by a small Dogra force.

"Swami Pranavananda in his book 'Kailas Mansarowar' has stated that the testicles and one hand of Wazir Zorawar Singh are kept in a Buddhist monastery near Taklakot. Regarding the death of Wazir Zorawar Singh, the Swami states that the Tibetans 'shot him with a golden bullet as they believed that the General was endowed with supernatural powers and no lead bullet could penetrate his body'. Later they hacked him to pieces. According to other historical accounts, General Zorawar Singh was killed by Tibetans near the Indo-Tibetan border in 1841. The Dogra army, which numbered 5,000, was also killed or frozen to death near Purang due to severe cold and snowfall. General Zorawar Singh who had already captured forts of Gurang and Turang had reached Mansarowar Lake and Kailash to attack Tibet but due to snowfall his army could not stand the cold and had scattered at different places. Tibetan army, led by Jongjot, attacked the Dogra army which was in a critical hour and 'butchered it like sheep'. Mehta Bastiram of the Dogra army was the only man 'to survive the disaster by escaping beforehand and making his way through Almora Hills' from where he reached Jammu to announce the sad news". The Dogras had beards like the Sikhs, and dress resembling like that of the people of Himachal Pradesh.

To-day they were routed and to-morrow they would again make war and re-capture the lost places. They never appeared on the battlefield to kill or to die but like guerillas played "hide and seek" game. To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to give blows upon water. Gulab Singh who was a great soldier showed sound knowledge and practical experience during his campaigns against the Frontier tribes. He was a great unifier and he welded together various patches of his kingdom. His encouragment of art and patronage of learning besides his grand personality and noble character raised the town of Jammu from a mere barrack to the first rank among the many stately cities of the Indian Empire. "Once Gulab Singh watched with interest the construction of a bridge constructed by convict labour. One convict solicited the Maharaja for pardon. The offence was the murder of a girl for her jewels. The Maharaja was infuriated at this and he enhanced the sentence. While sitting in judgment the hire-apparent was ordered to be nearby. Once a complaint came that a hen was stolen. The offender was summoned and the barber was commanded to shave half of his moustache and he was paraded in the open bazar." This provided instruction for the Yuvraj in the administration of justice.*

He died of dropsy on 25th Sawan 1914 (August 1858 A.D.), the year which witnessed the horrors of the Indian Mutiny and his death was marked by an earthquake. He was only 66 years old.

The tribes of Hazara rose in rebellion in 1847. At first it had not become possible to cope with it but subsequently it was suppressed. Gulab Singh thereupon asked the British Government to exchange Hazara with Mandi and Garhi. Hazara was assigned to Lahore and Gulab Singh got Kathua and Suchetgarh with part of Manawar. The boundary was further altered in 1847 under the supervision of the British officers, Cunningham, Strachey and Thomson. Poonch** which had

*He disarmed people and gave exemplary punishments to stabilise his rule.

**Poonch is 1627 sq. miles and 3210 ft. above sea level.

passed on to Gulab Singh was given to Jawahar Singh, the eldest surviving son of Dhyan Singh. But soon after, he claimed a share in Gulab Singh's property on the ground that they were the joint family property of of all the brothers. The claim was settled on 12th May 1848 by Frederick Currie and Gulab Singh was declared as the rightful master. The claim of Chamba was further adjusted by the transfer of Bhaderwah to Gulab Singh and taking away Chamba from his territories.

In 1848, when the second Sikh War broke out, Maharaja Gulab Singh stood by the side of the British although he was approached by both Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul and Sardar Chattar Singh to help them. The Sikhs were defeated again.

It was no easy job for Gulab Singh to look after an administration which had gone from bad to worse in the time of the Sikhs. The shawl industry[1] which was the main source of livelihood for the people was taxed very heavily. Reckless governors had given away much of the land in the valley as rent-free concessions, forced labour told upon the peasantry, sati and infanticide were common, robbers infested the hills. Nicholson records in his diary on 19th November 1847 :—

"Had some conversation with a party of Kabul merchants taking tabacco and snuff to Kashmir whence they intend returning with pattoo and tosh, which at last fetches a very high price in Kabul. They complained of the oppressive duties in their own and Maharaja Gulab Singh's territories but remarked that in the latter their goods were protected whereas they frequently ran great risks from the plundering tribes between Kabul and Peshawar." A number of men were determined in each village for *begar* and every man on *begar* duty was paid a khirwar of rice per month and given food. Another step which he took was to ration rice in the valley. This system of grain control was revived immediately

1. Kashmir was ever noted for Shawl, Shali, Shalgam and Shikara. Shawl is a blanket of fine Pushmina wool. Its origin is referred to in Mahabharata when Dhritrashtra desired to present 18,000 arikam (shawls) to Krishna on his visit to the court of the Kurus as a Delegate from the Pandavas. Mir Syed Ali of hamadan revived the Shawl industry which had long died out.

after the first Great War. The re-organisation of the shawl department or the Dagshawl received his attention next. The shawl tax was reduced, the Moulut (carrying accounts to the 14th month) was abolished and Chuttiana cancelled. The efficiency of his forces was always a matter of deep concern to him.

In 1851, trouble arose on the Tibetan frontier over the refusal of the zamindars of Ladakh to allow full transport to Western trade mission from Tibet. The dispute was settled by representatives of the Maharaja and the Dalai Lama.

There is no doubt that it was an uphill task for Gulab Singh to consolidate his dominion. A characteristic of his personality was that he was ready to listen to complaints. Even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee (as Nazar) and crying out, "Maharaja Arz Hai." He would jump down like a hawk upon the money and listen to the petition. Once a man shouted in the customary manner and then closed his hand and said, "No first hear what I have to say". Gulab Singh did not lose patience, he heard the petition, and when the hand was opened he gave orders about the case.*

Gulab Singh was a remarkable man of the nineteenth century. He began as a petty official and founded a kingdom. "He was after Ranjit Singh, the greatest lord in the Punjab." He knew tricks and stratagems. Opportunism was so near him that he always availed of it. Cunningham writes : "He must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made Gulab Singh would be found an able and moderate man who does little in idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and of generosity of temper." Major Smyth states, "With all this he was courteous and polite in demeanour and exhibited a suavity of manner and language that contrasted fearfully with his real disposition." The

*This indicates clearly enough that he was very avaricious.

present Jammu and Kashmir is his monument. "It is at once a memorial of that foul act when, like the arch traitor of old, we bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver."

"Gulab Singh had agreed to pay 68 lakhs to his Paramount before the war broke out. He should have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore Provinces as an independent prince."

"For purposes entirely selfish we deliberatelly sold millions of human beings, into the absolute power of one of the meanest, most avaricious, cruel and unprincipled of men that ever sat upon a throne."

Mr. Lepel Griffins (Punjab Chiefs) says :—

"There are perhaps no characters in history more repulsive than Raja Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh."

Immediately after the sale of Kashmir, the British imperialists realised their mistake as the following quotation from Canon Tyndale Biscoe's Autobiography makes it clear :—

"Wazir to Lt. Urmston—but that order was for India, not for Kashmir. Urmston—now watch my hand. He drew a red line right round the boundaries of Kashmir joining it to British India. This happened in 1857." It is since then that the British had an eye on Kashmir, particularly Gilgit.

It is clear beyond any doubt that 1846 created an independent state of Kashmir recognising Gulab Singh as an ally of the British, not a vassal. But the latter did not mean it. They started penetrating through needlewhole under one pretext or another until they succeeded in installing a British Resident in Kashmir whose policy of interference went so far in Pratap Singh's reign that the Maharaja could not appoint any one even to a post carrying a monthly salary of Rs. 100/-. Missionaries were deputed, men at large were sent from time to time to undo what had been done unconsciously in 1846. Troubles were fomented

in Twenties and Thirties only to annex the State with British India. Man proposes, God disposes. The British themselves were destined to march out in 1947 but the wrong done could not be rectified.



TREATY OF 1846 A.D.

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie Esquire and Brevet Major Henry Motogomery Lawrence acting under the orders of the Right Honble Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East India and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the Eastward of the river Indus and Westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahol, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846 A.D.

Article 2—The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heir by the provision of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year 1846 A.D.

Article 4—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the Arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring States and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his military forces the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him under the provision of Article 5, 6 and 7 of the separate engagement betweet the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March 1846.

Article 9—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, 12 goats (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This Treaty consisting of the above Articles has been this day settled by Frederic Currie Esquire and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar this sixteenth day of March in the year of our Lord, 1846 corresponding with the seventeenth day Rabi-ul-Awwal 1264 Hijri.

True to the very words of the Treaty of Amritsar, Jammu and Kashmir State has always stood by the Paramount Power in their hour of need.

"At the outbreak of the Mutiny", says the author of "Letters from India and Kashmir," "the late Maharaja Gulab Singh enjoined, nay, ordered his son (Ranbir Singh) to proceed with all his troops to the aid of the British, an injunction promptly obeyed and the soldiers of Kashmir fought by our side at the seige of Delhi."

The Jammu contingent consisting of 2,000 Infantry 200 Cavalry and six guns, under the political charge of Lt. Col. R. Lawrence, reached Delhi at a critical moment in the history of the Mutiny. The troops were commanded by Dewan Hari Chand. His Highness the Maharaja also sent valuable cash contributions to the Government of India.

After this the Kashmir State troops fought side by side with the British troops in the various compaigns on the frontiers of India including the Tirah and the Chitral campaigns.*

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*The states were created and allowed to continue by the British as a buffer against any indigenous revolt,

Brief History of Frontier Districts Consisting of Ladakh, Baltistan and Dardistan *

Ladakh :—The district of Ladakh consists of the following sub-divisions :—

Rukshuk, Zanskar, Lubre, Leh, Dras and Kargil. This district was formerly a part of Chinese Tibet under a Governor called Gyapu. Fa-Hian, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, visited Ladakh in 400 A.D. About 1687 it came under the nominal sway of the Moghul Emperor but it was really in 1834 that Ladakh lost its independence for the first time. It was attacked by Sultan Sayed of Yarkand in 1538 A.D. and by Kalmakun in 1685 A.D. It came under Skardu twice in 1620 and 1720-50 A.D. About the middle of the seventeenth century the ruler of Western Tibet who was at war with Chinese Tibet sought help from Shah Jahan. The Moghul army crossed the Indus at Khalatze and marched to Bazgo village. The Mongols who had encamped at Jargyal between Bazgo and Nemo were defeated in battle. In return for this aid Kashmir got the monopoly of shawl wool trade. But after the return of the Moghuls, the Mongols again attacked Ladakh and the King had to submit and pay an annual tribute to Chinese Tibet.

Maharaja Gulab Singh despatched Zorawar Singh with a force for conquest of Ladakh in 1834 A.D. In the first skirmish the Ladakhis were defeated at Pashkyum but they again attacked the Dogras with an army of 15,000 near Langkartsa between Kargil and Suru. But this time they were completely routed losing 400 of their number and 200 who were taken as prisoners. The king of Ladakh submitted, agreeing to pay a war indemnity of Rs. 50,000 and an annual tribute of Rs. 20,000. While the Dogra troops were engaged in these operat-

*Road from Srinagar to karakoram Pass where it enters Chinese Sinkiang is about 400 miles. This was the Central Asian trade route footed also by Huien Tsang and On Kong. When Chinese declared Sinkiang as a "closed territory" in 1949, it adversely affectd entire trade in this region. A motor road is under construction which will go up to an altitude of 11,580 ft. (Zojila) where temperature varies from 5 to 20°F.

ions, the Chief of Sod attacked Dogra fort at Suru but Zorawar Singh retook the fort and beheaded 200 insurgents.

Gulab Singh again despatched Zorawar Singh from Jummu with 12,000 troops in 1841 A.D. to take possession of Lhasa. The Dogra reached Guhrak and defeated the Lhasa troops. On return to Mantalan they seized the fort of Gurbang and Parang by storm. But the Lhasa troops came back under Chhgjut, retook Gurbang and defeated the Dogra under Zorawar Singh. Twenty-five soldiers only survived to tell the dismal tale. On hearing this Gulab Singh sent another force of 6,000 under Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu. They defeated the enemy at Kargil who lost 3,300 soldiers. They then besieged Chamarh Gunpha where Bakhshi Achhinjut and Karam Shah had concentrated themselves. The Generals surrendered and were brought as prisoners to Leh from where they escaped after nine days. But the Dogra force again pursued them till they were humiliated and brought as prisoners to Gulab Singh who had encamped at Nasim Bagh. The Maharaja pardoned them after concluding a peace treaty with Lhasa in September, 1842 according to which Ladakh came permanently under Jummu and traders of Ladakh and Lhasa got the reciprocal concession of conducting trade freely in both the countries.

Baltistan.—The Rajas of this place are said to be the descendants of Sikandar of Kashgar. They were under the kings of Kashmir but in the time of Chaks they were independent. When the Moghuls came they again lost independence which, however, they regained under the Afghans. In 1837 A.D. Raja Ahmad Shah was at war with his son Mohammad Shah who got Tilel as Jagir from Col· Mian Singh, the Sikh Governor. During Zorawar Singh's expedition Mohammad Shah was caught and taken as a prisoner to Skardu by his father. Thereupon Zorawar Singh marched but restored it to Ahmad Shah on his paying a heavy war indemnity. When Zorawar Singh was killed at Mantalan, Ahmad Shah rebelled again but was over-powered a second time by Dewan Hari Chand who brought him as a prisoner to

Jammu where he afterwards died. Mohammad Shah received an allowance from the Maharaja at Skardu. It may be noted here that Baltistan consists of the following subdivisions : Kharmang, Khaplu, Skardu and Rondu.

Dardistan.—The district of Dardistan consists of the following sub-divisions : Astore, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin and Chitral.

During the time of the Moghuls, Gilgit was under Kashmir but when the Afghans appeared it broke away. In the time of the Sikhs, its ruler Mohammad Khan was over-powered by Suleman Shah of Yasin. The latter himself was murdered by Azad Khan of Punial who declared himself the master of the country. Azad Khan was in turn killed by Tihar Shah of Nagar. Tihar Shah ruled for some time and after his death was succeeded by Gauhar Aman son of Suleman Shah who then usurped the throne.

In 1842 A.D. Ghulam Mohiuddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, sent troops to Gilgit under Nathu Shah and Mathra Das to help Karim Khan, brother of Sikandar Khan against Gauhar Aman who sustained a defeat and fled to Punial—Karim Khan then assumed the sovereignty of Gilgit. Nathu Shah who remained there and married the daughter of Gauhar Aman to himself and the daughters of the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar to his sons.

Maharaja Gulab Singh appointed the same Nathu Shah as Governor of Gilgit in 1845, but the Chief of Hunza killed him together with Karim Khan for bringing two European Officers with him. Gauhar Aman, the Chief of Punial and Yasin, with the help of the people of Delel, invaded Gilgit. Bhup Singh and Sant Singh, in command of Gulab Singh's garrison, gave a crushing defeat to Gauhar Aman. Soon after the sons of Gauhar Aman namely Mulk Aman, Mirwali, Mirghazi and Pahalwan Bahadur, assisted by Dards and Hunza people, held Bhup Singh into an ambuscade at the Niladar Hill and massacred 100 of his troops and

took 200 soldiers as prisoners who were sold as slaves after forcibly converting them to Islam. Only one woman escaped who crossed the Indus by holding the tail of a cow to tell this horrible tale at Bhunji. This made Gauhar Aman again the sole master of Gilgit. In 1856 after his death, Maharaja Ranbir Singh despatched General Devi Singh with a large force to re-conquer Gilgit. The enemy fled away before this force and the whole district as far as Yasin was occupied again. The victorious General installed Uzmat Shah and Isa Bahadur as Governors of Yasin and Punial respectively.

In 1859 A.D. Gilgit was permanently annexed to Kashmir when Mulk Aman who had revolted again was given a severe defeat by the Dogra force under the command of General Hushiara.

Chilas and Delel were annexed in 1851 and 1866 respectively. Yasin was taken in 1859 and was subsequently ceded to the sons of Gauhar Aman with whom a Treaty of Peace was concluded.

The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, though tributary to Kashmir often gave trouble to Maharaja's garrison at Gilgit, but in December 1891, these two principalities were subjugated by British Indian and Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under the command of Col. A. Durand, the then British Political Agent at Gilgit. When the Chinese were thrown to Rudok, a peace treaty was signed between the Lhasa Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1842, which reads : "We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times and will allow the annual export of wool, shawls and tea by way of Ladakh according to the old established custom."

LADAKH

(PAST & PRESENT)

Leh, the capital, is 11555 ft. above sea-level. A portion of population lives at 12000 ft. to 15000 ft. Climate is dry and rainfall hardly three inches. To the north lies Kunlun Range, to the east Tibet, to the north-west Skardu, to the west Kashmir and to the south Lahul and Spiti. The chief valleys are Leh, Chashul, Rupshu, Changchenmo.

Rudok, Purang, Guge and Lowo formed part of Ladakh in the 17th century. These were lost in the Mongol War of 1682-1683 except Mensar village which paid revenue to Ladakh Kings till 1840 and thereafter to Dogra Government. At one time Lahul and Spiti were also included in Ladakh. The total area is 45762 sqs. miles. The chief crops are wheat, grim, buck wheat and barley. Salt and wool are exported. Cabbage, cauliflower, brinjal and potato are widely grown. Apricots, apples and grapes are in abundance. Population is predominantly Mongolian. 83000 people inhabit 238 villages. In Leh Tehsil there are 42000 Buddhists and 4500 Muslims. Sonamarg-Kargil-Leh road is the present highway. Every Buddhist hamlet has a monastery, chief being Hemis, Spituk, Phiong, Shesh and Rezong. Lamas make about 4% of the population.

The total cultivable land in 1941 was 3%. There is acute shortage of fuel and timber. The whole of Ladakh wears a deserted look at dusk. The density of population is 1.2 and 7.1 per sq. mile in Leh and Kargil.

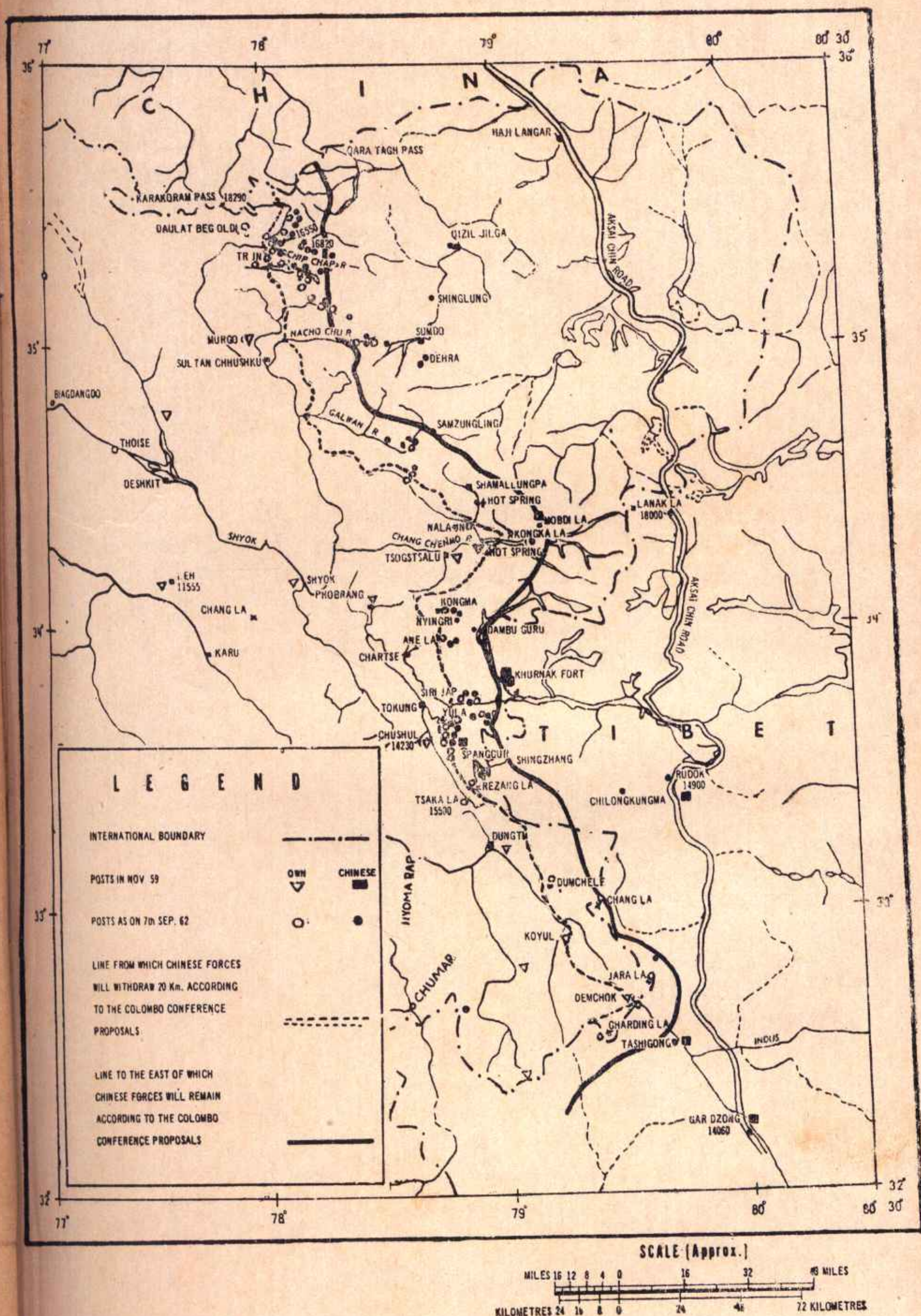
Electrification and road transport is likely to change the physical as well as economic shape of the district.

The first convoy of jeeps passed over Srinagar-Kargil-Leh road on 1st August 1962 across an height of about 13000 ft. The road is 153 miles and was

completed under the supervision of S. Narbo, himself a Ladakhi. It took six years to complete and cost Rs. 106.28 lakhs. Army Engineers had already started portion of it from Srinagar to Kargil in 1948. It was a dream translated into reality for the cut off people of Ladakh, which was reached formerly in a month's time with the help of ponies. On an average nearly 3000 people including 700 Tibetan refugees worked on the road which passes over some of the worst terrain of the world. It has three bridges at Pushkym, Hewiskot and Khalatse and also three mountain passes at Kapi La (11000 ft.), Namyika (12000 ft.) and Fatu La (12432 ft.). The Central Asian trade route was about 400 miles long. It was known in 7th and 8th centuries A.D. It was this route which was used when the fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir in the time of Kanishka (125-152 A.D.). It was also used by Huien Tsang and On-Kong when they came to Kashmir. Lalitaditya's, Mirza Haider's and Renchen Shahs' conquests were also led accross Zoji La.

Since Chinese took over Tibet, trade between Ladakh and Kashmir has been greatly hit. The new route opens up possibilities of better trade.

OUTLINE MAP OF LADAKH



SCALE (Approx.)

MILES 16 12 8 4 0 16 32 48 MILES

KILOMETRES 24 16 8 0 24 48 72 KILOMETRES

Continued : LADAKH

According to Dr. M. A. Stein, the well-known antiquarian, On-Kong reference to "the road in the east" which led to "Thou-fan" "corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji La to Ladakh and thence to Tibet".

Kashmir's ancient "Warrior King" Lalitaditya, who conquered Ladakh in the 8th century A.D., dispatched his troops across the Zoji La, the "lowest of all Himalayan passes". Later, Renchen Shah, a Ladakhi prince who became the king of Kashmir (1319-1324 A. D.) also took the Zoji La route to cross into the valley. Similarly in the 15th century Zain-ul-Abdin, the "Great King of Kashmir", sent his forces via the Zoji La pass to subjugate Ladakh. And though "the difficulties of the passage of the Karakorum mountains" prevented the Chinese from attempting the conquest of Ladakh in the 16th century both Ladakh and the Kashmir Valley were overrun by the forces of Mirza Haider of Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan). Evidently Mirza Haider entered the Valley through the Zoji La. In the 17th century Mughal troops from the Kashmir Valley were sent across the Zoji La to help the then king of Ladakh, Delegs Namgyal, to drive out the Mongol hordes from the area. Bnt when Gulab Singh, the Dogra chieftain of Jammu, conquered Lakakh in 1834, he rushed his troops through a pass in Kishtwar at the head of the Suru valley and via the 17,370-ft-high Umasi La connecting Padar (Kishtwar) with Zanskar sub-division of Ladakh. And finally in 1948, Indian troops under the command of General Thimayya, also entered Ladakh via the Zoji La to expel Pakistan raiders from the frontier region. For the first time light tanks were also taken across the pass in November that year.

Alexander Cunningham who travelled on the road in 1846-47 described it as "one of the most excellent and most easy routes to be found throughout the alpine Punjab". Though not jeepable as at present, the greater portion at the Kargil-Leh road "was made

by Zorawar Singh after the conquest of the country (by the Dogras) in 1834". But earlier in 1812 the great Mughal traveller, Izzet Ullah, who visited Ladakh and Central Asia, described the few marches on the Kashmir side of the Zoli La as "difficult and rocky so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller".

The cessation of the Central Asian trade via Leh and Kargil has seriously affected the economy of Ladakh. This trade which was valued at Rs. 93 lakhs in 1920-21 came down to Rs 78,246 in 1939-40. This was mainly due to the lack of stable government and the hostile attitude to the trade on the part of certain elements in Chinese Turkistan and other areas in Central Asia. The trade dwindled further when the Chinese Communists sealed Sinkiang's borders with Ladakh soon ofter September 1949.

Since, however, Ladakh's trade with Tibet also has been on the decline for some time. It has practically meant a sort of an "economic blockade" against the frontier district from its northern and eastern neighbours. At one time, out of the huge quantities of pashmina wool imported from western Tibet by Ladakhi traders in exchange for their goods, about 3,200 maunds used to be sold to Kashmiris. But such is not the case now.

Under these circumstances, the completion of the Leh-Kargil road connecting the closed, rugged frontier area with the Kashmir Valley will open new avenues of trade in Ladakh. First settlers in Ladakh were the Mons from North India followed by the Dards of Baltistan. Both profess the Buddhist faith. Mons brought their musical instruments and the Dards the game of polo.

The population of Ladakh is 88, 892 scattered over 259 villages. Ladakh is described as the Land of Gompas.

In the Western Sector, the boundary is that of Jammu and Kashmir with Sinkiang and Tibet and is

about 1,100 miles in length. This boundary, long recognised by custom, was confirmed by the treaty of 1684 and reaffirmed by the treaty of 1842 signed by the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir on the one hand and the Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China on the other. It also received confirmation in diplomatic correspondence exchanged between Britain and China in 1847-48.

During the last five years, since 1957, Chinese forces have continuously extended their aggressive intrusions into Indian territory in the Western Sector (Ladakh) and have forcibly and unilaterally altered the long established boundary culminating in their latest massive aggression.

The deceitful nature of China's three-point proposal becomes all the more evident when we come to the Western Sector in Ladakh. Here, too, the Chinese do not define their "line of actual control" but generally claim that it coincides "in the main" with what they call "the traditional and customary line". But actually the Chinese "line of actual control" as it existed in November 1959 was no line at all. It consisted merely of a few isolated Chinese posts on Indian territory—posts which China had progressively established since 1957 by forcibly and unilaterally altering the traditional *status quo* of the boundary, even while the Government of China was continuing to assure the Government of India that they had no territorial claims against India. There is a difference of 8,500 square miles between the real "line of actual control" as it existed in November 1959 and what the Chinese now falsely claim as the "line of actual control" of 7th November 1959.

Rejecting the Chinese interpretation of the "line of actual control", the Indian Prime Minister wrote to the Chinese Prime Minister on December 1, 1962 as follows :-

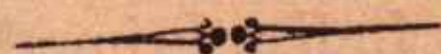
"What you call the 'line of actual control' as on Nobember 7, 1959 in the Western Sector was only a

series of isolated military posts. You are aware that in November 1959 there were no Chinese posts of any kind either at Qiziljilga, Shinglung, Dehra, Samzungling or any areas to the west of these locations nor did the Chinese have any posts to the south or west of Spanggur. Despite this, 'the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959', as your Government now claims in Ladakh is along the line of control established by force after the massive attacks mounted since 20th October, 1962. This is a definite attempt to retain under cover of preliminary cease-fire arrangements, physical possession over the area which China claims and to secure which the massive attack since 20th October, 1962 was mounted by your forces. This we cannot agree to.........".

The 20 kilometres withdrawal of Chinese forces is to be from the line of actual control as on November 7, 1959 as defined by China.

Indian military posts will be kept on and up to this line.

The maintenance of civilian posts of both sides on a basis of parity, in the demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres created by Chinese withdrawal is a substantive part of the Colombo Conference proposals. It is as to the location of the posts, their number and composition, that there are to be direct talks between Indian and Chinese officials.



RANBIR SINGH

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the third son of Gulab Singh, was born in the fort of Ramgarh in Samvat 1887-1889 some say at Ramnagar. His eldest brother Udham Singh was born on 27th Assuj 1874 and died on 22nd Kartik 1897. His elder brother Randhir Singh *alias* Sohan Singh was killed in action in Samvat 1901. Maharaja Gulab Singh who was not keeping good health for some years before his death asked Ranbir Singh to look after the administration of the State and this enabled the Prince to equip himself for the duties which he had to fulfil as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State. About two years before his death Maharaja Gulab Singh himself gave Rajtilak to Ranbir Singh on the 18th Phagan 1912. According to Thakur Kahan Singh Billawaria, soon after his accession, three unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of the Maharaja in close succession by a band of intriguers. They were all punished in 1915 Samvat when the intrigue was traced. Sir Richard Temple who had known Maharaja Ranbir Singh since 1853 A.D. when he paid a private visit to Jammu, writes : "He was at that time 30 to 32 years of age. Handsome in face, with a very long moustache and a mien indicating high birth. His figure was small and his legs inclined to bend outwards but he rode and shot well". The author of the "Letters from India and Kashmir" wrote in 1870 A.D. : "His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion—I know not how to express it with a more expressive epitheton than olive—an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line with a short black curly beard. His puggery of lawn with a lawn of gold tissue was relieved in colour by one scarlet gold. On his forehead was painted a yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Shiva and he wore the Brahmanical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold resembling the rosary of Romanists and used for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white

cambric and a ribbon of scarlet and gold lace across his badge of authority."

"Government and other agencies would get 20 traks (trak is 5 seers 3 chataks) and 6¼ seers plus 22½ chilkis (chilki anna is half Company anna) upon 192 traks in Rabi crop and 21 traks and 13¼ seers, plus 17¾ chilkis upon 142 traks in Kharif corp. The revenue in kind was collected through Tehsildar, Thanedar, Kardar, Mokhdam, Patwari, Shukdar, Sazawal, Tar-uchdar, Harkar and Doom who all fleeced the Zamindar (food grower)." The following taxes were in force :-

House tax 4 to 20 annas.
Fruit tax ¾ of the price.

Animal tax 2 to 3 animals a year from each village yielding 500 khirwars of grain (khirwar is 16 traks=83 seers), I pony, loi (blanket), ½ seer ghee for each milch cow, 1-10 fowls from each house, ⅔ of honey where-ever produced.

Shawl tax Rs. 47/8/- in 1867 or Rs. 18/12/- per cent for stamp at Dagshawl.

Marriage license fee Rs. 3/- (license fee to purchase a girl for prostitution was 100 chilkis). Every nautch-girl paid 80-100 chilkis a year and was not permitted to marry.

Begar or forced labour was paid at the rate of 4 to 7 chilkis for double journey from Srinagar to Gilgit or Astor which involved a period of 24 days.

According to Robert Thorp (Kashmir Misgovernment 1870) Kashmiri character is exhibited in a marked degree in honesty and loving kindness.

"Shali sold at Rs. 2/- (chilki) a khirwar (chilki rupee is ten annas). It was sold at half this price when Gulab Singh came."

Gulab Singh created a kingdom which the new ruler consolidated. He spent a considerable sum of money upon education and roads. In his time crime and drunkenness became almost unknown. The econo-

mic conditions were such that a rupee would buy 80 lbs. of rice, 12 lbs. of meat and 60 lbs. of milk. Fruits grew in abundance and had little value[1]. But as Mrs. Bruce says, the year 1877 was a cruel time on account of a very bad season. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's anxiety for improvement of the administration and the lot of his subjects is reflected in the talk recorded by Sir Richard Temple in his Journals. Sir Richard says : "I tried to hint delicately that, like all other places, Kashmir would benefit by increased care. The Maharaja said that he was conscious of many defects and that as soon as he had leisure from affairs at Jammu, he would go to Kashmir and introduce several reforms, adding that he felt himself responsible to God for the care of his peoples. He then went on to say that Kashmir's population did not increase as much as he hoped, that many of his people had emigrated and that much land was lying waste............ In the afternoon I went again to bid the Maharaja farewell. He told me that he was endeavouring to improve the judicial system and that he had Doctors of Hindu and Mohammedan law in the work." Rev. Robert Clark founded Church Missionary Society in Kashmir in 1864 A.D.

During the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh there was practically no change in the then existing judicial administration which was conducted by the Governors and other officials. The Maharaja himself could be easily approached by any of his subjects who sought justice at his hands. It must be remembered that Maharaja Gulab Singh had to devote much time in the consolidation and building of Jammu and Kashmir State and it fell to the lot of his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, to set up an administration. He divided the administration of the State into three main heads : Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Daftar Jangi.*

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1. This only indicates economic backwardness of the country. Lack of communications was greatly responsible for this. The average yearly income could hardly be Rs. 11/- per head.

Now Kashmir has 35,000 acres of land under fruit cultivation. The annual export is about 4,40,000 mds.

*It was one man's rule in whom were vested all powers judicial as well as executive. Dogras made it feel that Kashmiris were a subject race.

For the first time a Penal Code, containing 100 Sections only, was published in Dogri characters.** At every Police Station the Maharaja appointed an officer known as "Chakladar". This officer used to settle all petty civil and criminal suits.

An Adalat Sadar was created at Jammu and another at Srinagar. All cases of importance used to be decided by this Court. The Maharaja himself used to take keen interest in the administration of justice which was very cheap. It only required a stamp worth annas eight for getting a case decided by his Highness. The Maharaja used to hold his Durbar daily. Describing the Maharaja's Durbar, Frederick Drew who saw one himself says :

"It is when the Maharaja is sitting in public Durbar, holding open Court for the hearing of petitions that the Mandi has its liveliest appearance. For the morning Durbar he will take his seat at nine or ten o' clock beneath one of the arches of the arcade on the cushion which here answers for the throne, accompanied by his eldest son and surrounded by his minister, and with, may be, from fifty to hundred other courtiers and attendants seated round against the wall at distances according to the degree."

"Thus seated, and supported, the Maharaja looks down on the petitioners who stand in the Square which is some feet lower than the room. Each coming in succession according to their petitions, previously written on stamped paper and given in, are called on, stands in front with hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, while the prayer is read out. The subject of the petitions are wonderfully varied ; perhaps an employee will ask leave to return to his home, or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges ; next, may be a criminal is brought to receive final sentence ; then a poor women, with face veiled, will come to complain of some grievance or other or a dispute about a broken contract of marriage will have to

**Kashmiri characters had receded into background.

be decided. These are all listened to patiently enough and on the simpler cases the decision is given at once and written on the petitions. The civil and criminal cases have usually been previously inquired into by judicial officers, in the courts of first instances, and perhaps have been adjudicated on by the Appeal Courts of Jammu or of Srinagar, but it is open to the suitors and complainants to try their fortune with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja does his best to find the truth, will examine and sharply cross-examine the witnesses. It frequently ends in his referring the matter to the magistrate for investigation in which case it will be again brought before him for final decision."

In Samvat 1848 (1891-92), a new State Penal Code called 'Sri Ranbir Dandh Bidhi' was compiled and issued.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Civil Courts Regulation of 1877 defines the powers of High Court which was created the same year, as follows :

> "The High Court (Adalat-i-Alia) shall be deemed for the purposes of all enactments for the time being in force to be the highest court of appeal or revision, subject to the control and the judicial powers exercised by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur. The general superintendence and control over all other Civil courts shall be vested in, and all such courts shall be subordinate to the High Court."

There were in all 25 courts of which 14 were Wazarat courts. Besides there was a court in Srinagar called Adalat Dag-i-Shawl and a Panchayat Court consisting of eight nominated members (four Hindus and four Muslims) to look after general welfare. There were also three courts at Ladakh, Gilgit and Skardu. Two Sadar courts at Srinagar and Jammu heard appeals against Wazarat courts. A Law Department under a Secretary was also established.

In the very beginning of his reign the Maharaja had to devote much attention towards military activities.

He supervised drilling of soldiers. In 1857, when Mutiny broke out, he led a contingent consisting of 2,000 infantry, 200 cavalry and six guns to the aid of the British.* It was due to these services, says Younghusband, that his right to adopt from collateral branches an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs (male) of Gulab Singh on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British was recognised. The Sanad was conferred in March, 1862.

After the termination of the Mutiny, the Maharaja turned his attention towards strengthening his position in Gilgit. In 1860, he sent a force under Colonel Devi Singh, which reduced the fort built by Gauhar Rahman who had just passed away. The forces then advanced towards Yasin and took it. After the reconquest of Gilgit, Raja Isa Bahadur of Punial, who had incurred the wrath of Gauhar Rahman, sought refuge at the Dogra Court and was reinstalled in his old principality. At the time of his reinstallment he acquired the territory of Ishkoman. In 1865, the disturbances which originated from Hunza, made the retention of Gilgit difficult again. The ruler of Chitral assisted the insurgents. Reinforcements were sent by the Maharaja and Darel Valley was occupied. The garrison was re-established at Gilgit. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin. But relief was sent from Gilgit and order restored. About this time the valley of Chaprot was occupied by the Hunza ruler. In 1877 the then ruler of Nagar occupied Chaprot and Chalt, and from that day these areas were held by the Nagar and Kashmir troops. In 1876 Yasin, Kuh-Ghazr and Ishkoman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahlwan Bahadur who belonged to the ruling dynasty of Chitral and professed allegiance to the Maharaja of Kashmir. But he proved treacherous and Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Maharaja's Government to incorporate the whole country. He partitioned the districts among paid Governors under the Maharaja after their severance from Chitral in 1895.

* The Kashmiris were disqualified for military service.

The Maharaja introduced many reforms in the administration of the State. As already referred to above he divided the administration into three main heads, Daftar Nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Daftar Jangi. The Jammu Province was divided into seven Wazarats—Jammu Khas, Jasrota, Ramnagar, Udhampur, Reasi, Nowshera and Manawar. The land revenue assessment was considerably improved. The Jammu Wazarat had four Tehsils and 30 Parganas.

Out of the total area of 686,450 *ghumauns*, 33,344 *ghumauns* were under cultivation and the land revenue was assessed at an average rate of Rs. 1/9/3. The Kashmir Province was divided into six Wazarats—Shahar-i-Khas, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzaffarabad. Taxes had increased in Kashmir from reign to reign. Ranbir Singh remitted many of them such as *Tarki* which was imposed on Zamindars from old times (it yielded an income of 209,000 chilkis though hardly one-fourth of the total produce was left with the tiller of the soil and sometimes even less). The imposition of the tax is explained thus : "Out of every two Khirwars of the produce one Khirwar was taken away as land revenue. Out of the balance of one khirwar, eight traks were taken away as the so-called rasumi *Tarki*, rasumi *Manwati* and *Qanungoi* and *Girdawari* and the part of Shakdars and Sazawals.*

Moorecroft who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.D. describes how heavily the Shawl trade and other trades were taxed in Kashmir. He says "Every Shawl was taxed 24 per cent upon the estimated value, besides which there was an import duty on the wool with which they were manufactured and a charge was made upon every shop or workman connected with the manufacture. Every other trade was also taxed." The trade of Kashmir received a great set-back partly on account of heavy taxation and partly on account

*They were mostly Pandits and their houses were mortgaged to the State. The illiterate Dogra officer would receive money and his subordinate Pandit would issue the receipt. He suffered for *baqaya* (balance).

of the heavy fall in the export trade brought about by the Franco-German war of 1870. Prior to this the Kashmir Shawl known as *Cashmere* was the fashion in aristocratic societies in Europe and was exported to the continent in large quantities. The tax on Shawls which was called "Dag-i-Shawl" is dated as far back as 1197 Hijri and was a great source of revenue. In the time of Ranbir Singh the tax at the old rate yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs. The Maharaja remitted this huge tax altogether just to help the industry. The other taxes on different arts, crafts and trades were as under: Taxes realised from Srinagar (trades) Rs. 45,687/11/- ; taxes realised from Srinagar (arts and crafts) Rs. 16,621/8/- ; taxes realised from Anantnag Rs. 4,280/6/- ; taxes realised from Shopian Rs. 1,079/4/-, taxes realised from Pattan Rs. 304/5/-; taxes realised from Wazarat Kamraj Rs. 9,151/8/- (Total Rs. 77,125/4/-). These taxes were all remitted. Besides many petition boxes were set up, import duty abolished, marriage tax* withdrawn and kidnapping put down.

The following extract from the administration report of the Punjab for 1864-65 will be read with interest :[1]

"The reduction of customs affected by His Highness last year had led to a considerable increase in the trade with the adjacent districts in the British territory. The trade with Sialkot is reported to have increased in value from Rs. 1,35,000 to Rs. 1,71,000 per annum, that with Jullundur and Hoshiarpur to have more than doubled.

Chiefly in regard to the items of saccharine produce and native cloth, in Gujrat there is said to have been a general increase in the trade with Kashmir. The export of silk from Jhelum is stated to exhibit a

* The Zar-i-nikah brought a revenue of about Rs. 21,000 to the State. It was imposed on Muslims under Muslim rule.

1. It was in the first quarter of the 19th Century when Napolean was in Egypt that he picked up a Kashmir shawl and presented it to Josephine whence it became an article of fashion in rich circles of France and thus fetched a good price to the Kashmir weavers.

similar increase and the value of shawl, wools and saffron imported to the Kangra district, showed an increase of Rs. 9,000." In 1867 His Highness decided to apply the rate of five per cent, charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yarkand from all imports from Central Asia or India of which the bond was not broken in the State territories. In 1870 a trade treaty was concluded with the British Indian Government. Under its terms, His Highness the Maharaja undertook to forego all duty on the trade between Central Asia and British India, in return for the same concession made by the Indian Government for goods imported into the State through British India.

There occurred a severe clash between the Shias and the Sunnis in 1872. The disturbance was brought under control and the Maharaja gave Rs. 3 lakhs to the Shias by way of relief because they had suffered much*. The famine of 1877 was of a severe type. Foodstuffs could not be easily imported from the Punjab because no motorable road existed then between Rawalpindi and Srinagar though the construction of a cart-road had just begun. The Maharaja, however, ordered grains to be purchased worth about a lakh of rupees from the Punjab. Besides, an Irshad was issued saying that "Anyone who imported foodgrains to the value of Rs. 20,000/- will be awarded Rs. 1,000/- as Khilat and will receive the pleasure of His Highness." In the meantime some grain purchased at Sialkot arrived. The grain had cost the State Rs. 15/14/6 per khirwar but it was sold at the rate of Rs. 4/4/- only. Free langars were started to feed the poor. About 195,714 maunds of grain were imported. The State met a loss of about Rs. 33,64,195/3/3. Those who emigrated during this famine were later on induced to return.

Under such circumstances the question of transport would draw any ruler's attention. The construction of the Jhelum Valley Road was already started.

*According to some accounts Shawl weavers and embroiderers were thrown out of employment. For the first time they asked for civil liberties and the movement later on turned into a communal conflict. That aspect of the situation paid the then ruling class.

The cart road between Jammu and Srinagar was also started with a bridge over the Chenab at Ramban. This bridge was built at a time when over 2-ton motor lorries were unknown but it has existed up to this day in spite of heavy vehicular traffic that runs over it. The bridge was built by the local people and the steel used in its construction was brought from the rich mineral areas in Reasi district. A telegraph and a postal system was introduced to link up various parts of the State. To increase the speed of mails 129 stages were set up between Jammu and Srinagar and it took only 25 to 30 hours for the mail bags to reach Srinagar from Jammu and vice versa. Settled condition in Kashmir valley attracted many visitors to Kashmir and in order to afford facilities to European visitors a direct mail line from Jammu to Lahore was established in Samvat 1921.

Anxious to further develop the postal system the Maharaja invited Mr. Hogg, the then Postmaster-General of Punjab to Jammu and discussed with him all possibilities of improvement. In 1934 (Bikrami) the Maharaja thought of connecting Gilgit with Srinagar by a telegraph. And he did it with the help of an officer from the Punjab Government. Later, Jammu was also connected with Srinagar. Telegrams addressed from Srinagar to British India were sent from Jammu to Sialkot through horse service but in Samvat 1935 the State telegraph line was extended to Suchetgraph which brought the State nearer to British India telegraphically.

While earlier the visitors were looked after through the Punjab Government, in 1877 an officer on special duty was placed direcetly under the Government of India who replaced the mixed court of 1872 consising of British and State officials, for deciding civil suits between local people and the European visitors. In the Afghan war of 1878-80 the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British. He introduced vine cultivation* at various places and brought

*Vines were imported from Bordeous and Hops from England.

productions of the country on a firm footing. Silk industry received a great impetus during this time. He imported seedlings of mulberry trees from China. Tea gardens were laid in the Tehsils of Reasi and Basohli. In Samvat 1931, production of hand-made paper was started for Government use. Shawl manufacture, paper-making and sericulture were already introduced into Kashmir by Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin. Paper-making spread as a cottage industry round Vicharnag and survived till the earlier days of Maharaja Partap Singh, when mill-made paper pushed it out of existence. Opium cultivation which was restricted to Bhaderwah and Kishtwar only was extended to other parts of the State as well. A brewery was established at Gupkar and the Kashmir wine won a gold medal at the Calcutta Exhibition. Sir Oliver St. John, officer on special duty in Kashmir, conveyed Viceroy's appreciation to the Maharaja on this successful manufacture.

Ranbir Singh was a great patron of art and letters. As early as 1867, when the idea of founding a University at Lahore was first mooted by Sir E. Mcleod, the then Lt. Governor of the Punjab, the Maharaja gave a donation of Rs. 6,25,000. When the University was founded in 1882, Maharaja Ranbir Singh's name was incorporated as the First Fellow in the Charter. A Translation Department was created to translate books on various subjects for use in the schools of the State. Subjects like Geology and Physics were also dealt with. The chief books published then are Sri Ranbir Parkash (diseases and their treatment), Ranbir Vrat Ratnakar (Dharm Shastra), Ranbir Bhakti Ratnakar(Purans), and Gulabnama (history of Gulab Singh in Persian). Scholars were sent to Tibet to learn the Tibetan language and many Tibetan books were translated into Hindi. Vidya Bilas Press was the first printing press introduced in his time in the State. Writing about the languages in vogue then Frederick Drew writes : "Besides the Persian character which in these territories in hardly ever applied to any but persian language there are three written characters used for the spoken languages.

These are Dogri, Kashmiri and Tibetan. The Dogri alphabet in its old form was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason a few years ago the Maharaja recommended its modification. It was brought nearer to Devnagri, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different. New Dogri is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja, for this purpose it has replaced Persian in which petitions were written when I first visited Jammu but it has not generally displaced either Persian or old Dogri." In every Wazarat and Tehsil a school was opened and provision was made for higher studies in oriental languages. A big Pathshala was opened at Raghunath Temple, Jammu and another at Utterbhani where instructions were imparted in the Vedas, Grammar, Kavya Shastra and Niyay. Books were supplied free and scholarships granted. Frederick Drew was incharge of mineral survey and under his direction iron and coal were worked to certain extent*

Considerable attention was given to irrigation and one of the most important canals in the State is known after him, though it was completed in the time of his successor. Earthquakes occurred in 1883, 1878 and 1884 A.D. Famine visited in 1864 and 1877 A.D. Cholera broke out in 1557-58, 1867, 1872,1875-76 and 1879 A.D. and fires caused a devastation in 1875 and 1878 A.D.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh introduced his own currency. The State Mint was closed twelve years after his death in 1897 A.D. when the British currency was introduced. Similarly the State Postal system was amalgamated with the Indian Postal system in 1894 A.D.

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*The course of history in Kashmir would have changed if Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of Arya Samaj, had been permitted to visit the country by Ranbir Singh who had personally no objection. Sanatan Dharm would not yield to Arya Dharm. Sometime later Vivekanand who planned to set up a University at Ram Munshi Bagh was declined plot of land by its owner. Earlier the Sikhs were prevailed upon not to demolish the Shah e-Hamdan mosque from which had flowed the teaching of Islam. These incidents reveal that Kashmiri Pandits never ceased to play their role both for good and evil. It was not patriotic for a Pandit to refuse land for a University which was ultimately taken over by the Government.

Sir Richard Temple bears testimony to the high character of the Maharaja. He says : "His private domestic life seemed to be good. He came out daily and was certainly free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of Oriental Princes." Maharaja Ranbir Singh was granted G.S.C.I., and a royal salute of 21 guns in lieu of his services to the British Empire. Earlier he had been offered a jagir in Oudh in return for the State force's assistance in putting down the Mutiny. He declined the offer because the help rendered was given as an ally.

Maharaja Gulab Singh had established the treasury of Shri Raghunathji with a fund of rupees five lakhs, the interest to be spent on *Sadavarts*. Ranbir Singh was appointed Trustee to look after the *Devasthans*. Ranbir Singh enjoined upon his sons, heirs, descendants etc. to lend their help to his Trust and to see that the Trust-deed was respected in letter and spirit. This was issued on 20th Katik, 1950.

Rajas Pratap Singh, Ram Singh and Amar Singh accepted the injunction of their father with heart and soul by a declaration dated 25th Baisakh 1941. The oath administered in the name of a hundred thousand sacred cows is incorporated in the *Ain-i-Dharmarth* which governs the administration of the ecclesiastical department.

Ranbir Singh breathed his last on 14th September, 1885 A.D. Conveying his condolence to his successor, Pratap Singh, H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General in a letter dated Simla, the 14th September, 1885, wrote : "Maharaja Ranbir Singh rendered valuable service to the British Government. I feel that his loss is the loss of a friend."

PRATAP SINGH

Maharaja Pratap Singh G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., etc., was born in 1850 A.D. and succeeded to the throne in 1885 A.D. Ranbir Singh had four sons, namely, Raja Pratap Singh, Raja Ram Singh, Raja Amar Singh and Raja Lachman Singh. Pratap Singh was the eldest. Raja Lachman Singh died in 1848 A.D. Raja Ram Singh was a soldier who would admit no defeat in battle. He passed away in 1897 A.D. Raja Amar Singh was one of the richest princes of India and served as Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief in the State for some time and died in 1907 A.D.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's forty years' reign was epoch-making. The greatest contribution of the Dogra Rule in Kashmir are the two trunk roads which were completed in his time. The first drawback of Kashmir was its lack of the means of communication with British India. In 1889 there was no continuous road to drive through in Kashmir, although there existed every kind of roads between different towns. In addition to numerous short roads constructed throughout the country plans of two main roads, one joining Srinagar with Kohala and the other with Jammu, were designed for motor traffic. The Jhelum Valley Road covers a length of 132 miles from Srinagar to the Kohala Bridge and the Banihal Cart Road covering a length of 203* miles was completed in 1922 at a cost of rupees forty-three lakhs. Bridges were constructed at Domel, Kohala and other places.

The Sialkot-Jammu Railway which linked up Jammu with British India was thrown open to traffic in 1890. Many projects have been prepared from time to time to bring Srinagar on the Railway map of India but the idea so far remains unrealised. The Sangam bridge was built in 1910.

Crops in Kashmir usually depend upon snows and not upon monsoons as in the plains. Naturally the

* Two way traffic tunnels have been bored near Banihal. This has shortened distance & made possible year round traffic.

greater the number of irrigation canals, the less apprehension of a famine. Pratap Singh constructed a number of these—Martand Canal, Lal Khul, Pratap Canal, Ranbir Canal (this being the largest, serving an area of about 1,26,000 acres) Basantpur Canal, Ujh Canal and Upper Jhelum Canal. The Zainagir Canal was completed in the year 1931 at a cost of Rs. 11 lakhs. A flood spill channel for diverting the waters of the Jhelum was constructed between Ram Munshi Bagh and Pandrethan. Dredging operations were conducted below the town of Baramulla for removal of silt etc. A weir was constructed across the Jhelum at Chatabal to maintain enough water in the river during winter and draughts. Arrangements were made for supply of pure water on sanitation lines to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu.

Pratap Singh was an orthodox Hindu. Though deeply devoted to the Royal House of Windsor, neither he nor his brothers ever crossed the "black water". Even moving about India meant a cumbersome, elaborate business. "It pleased him that his Imperial Service troops—no Kashmiri among them—had the honour of guarding the Northern passes into India". He avoided alcohol but an "opium peg" brightended his wits and his outlook.

Though himself not a very great soldier, the army was his great concern. He reorganised the military force, supplied it with modern equipment and brought it on modern footing. Kashmir being so rich in forest wealth its conservancy was needed. (India probably gets her best timber supplies from Kashmir). The First Great War caused great unrest in the grain market by high fluctuation. Pratap Singh took cue from Gulab Singh's food policy and introduced rationing which led to grain control that exists to this day. A step was taken in the direction of local Self-Government by establishing two Municipalities—One at Jammu and one at Srinagar. Two first grade colleges were founded at Jammu and Srinagar with a net-work of schools spread all over the country to fight ignorance

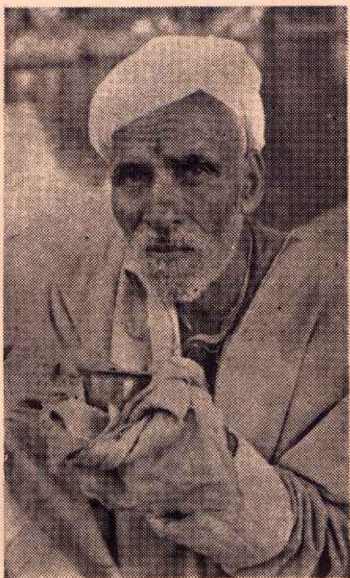
and illiteracy. Two up-to-date hospitals were also opened at the capital cities. Numerous dispensaries were set up in towns and villages to combat sickness and disease and to promote public health. A well-equipped technical institute was established at Srinagar to train artisans in various crafts. Few of its kind existed in the whole of India then.

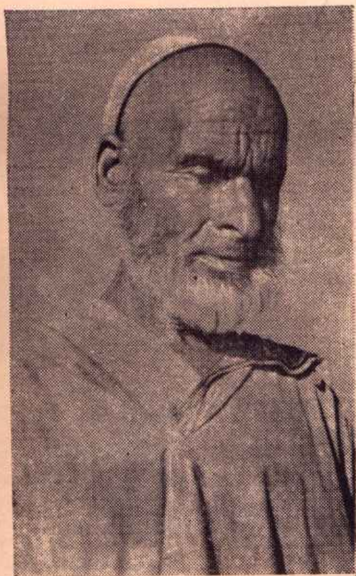
Since Gulab Singh's time revenue was obtained in kind. Probably salaries also were given in kind. One of the greatest measures of Pratap Singh's reign is the land revenue settlement of the country under the able supervision of Walter Lawrence. The revenue in kind was replaced by revenue in cash. The old Kardars who fleeced the peasantry no more exist now. Soon after followed the co-operative movement which saved zamindars from the clutches of Sahukars. In his time one State monopoly Dagshawl (shawl industry) was abolished and another, Sericulture, was set up. Silk Industry in Kashmir provided work to thousands of people in the State. "He accomplished all this in spite of the fact that he had succeeded to a bankrupt kingdom," says Lawrence.

In 1889 A.D., only after few years of his reign, the relations between Pratap Singh and the Paramount Power became somewhat strained. By now—1885 the British had succeeded in installing a Resident in Kashmir.* The mixed court appointed in 1872 was abolished and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of certain kinds of suits. Col. Nisbat the then Resident, brought a charge that Pratap Singh was intriguing with Russia and Dalip Singh against the British which resulted in virtual abdication of the Maharaja in 1889. The charge of plotting murder of Plowdon, the British Resident, was also brought against him. "Condemned Unheard" gives the full background. A council was constituted for the administration of the State with Raja Amar Singh and two officers from Delhi ; just before his

*The British felt that after annexing the Punjab the Muslim population of Kashmir needed some protection.

A Kashmiri Pandit →





← A Kashmiri Muslim

death after the conclusion of the first Great War in which the Maharaja had given great assistance and displayed deep loyalty he was once again in enjoyment of full powers.

Pratap Singh had some trouble on his frontiers also. In his time, conquest of Hunza was effected and Chitral War was fought. The Dogra soldiers resisted attacks, offered counter attacks and finally won wherever they went.*

As in the previous reign, Kashmir saw a number of natural calamities. The earthquake shock of 1885 A.D. destroyed much life and property. Cholera epidemics of 1888, 1892, 1900, 1902, 1906-7 and 1910 wrought untold havoc. Plague that broke out in 1903-4 in Jammu, created panic in the whole State. People fled into interior to save their lives. There were big fires in 1892 and 1899 which entailed much loss of property—as if these had not been enough, there were heavy floods in 1893 and 1903. The former alone swept away about six thousand souls. The first Census operations were conducted in Kashmir in 1891 and this was followed by three other decennial Census opeartions in 1901, 1911 and 1921. The population of Kashmir in 1891 was only 949,041 ; in 1941 it was 1,728,705.

The visit of a Prince of Wales to a State was a rare occasion. During Pratap Singh's reign, two Princes of Wales visited Jammu. Their visits further strengthened the bond of friendship between Kashmir, Delhi and London. Pratap Singh spared no pains to help winning the first World War. His contributions in men, material and money were huge.

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*In 1877, the British Officer had been posted as Political Agent at Gilgit. He was recallad in 1881 but re-appointed in 1889. The Agency included Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, Kub, Ghiza and Ishkoman. The Kashmir garrison at Chaprot and Chalt was attacked in 1885. They offered submission in 1889 to the political Agent, but they did not stick. After the battle, Hunza and Nagar were occupied in 1891. The Chief of Nagar was reinstated by the Maharaja. The Chief of Hunza having fled, his brother Safdar Khan, was installed instead. According to Col. Nevile Chamberlain who commanded State troops in 1910, the State army which consisted of 24,000 soldiers had not been paid for three years. Writes he "These soldier are sent out into the villages to loot like an invading army."

In 1914 A.D. Kashmir sent Second Kashmir Rifles to the front, the main strength of which was reinforced throughout the war. Another despatch consisting of two battalions and 2/2nd Kashmir Rifles was sent in 1917 A.D. The total number of these despatches amounted to 1,200 and 1,070 strong.

Two Kashmir Imperial Lancers (1915 A.D.) and Kashmir Mountain Battery furnished with six guns (1916 A.D.) largely added to the numerical strength of the war contribution. The total monetary contribution amounted to about Rs. 1,11,00,000/- in all. In addition to this, the State supplied 31,000 recruits to the British India Army. This was the largest number of recruits supplied by any Indian State during the war.

"In recognition of the signal services rendered by these Units at the various theatres of the war, many battle honours were conferred on them".

Yuvraj Hari Singh, who was then the Commander-in-Chief, made the following contribution from his Privy Purse.

Investment in War Loans and Bonds	Rs. 13,00,000
Donations etc.	Rs. 2,91,000

The war began in 1914 and ended in 1918 A.D. with victory for the Allies.

During this war prices of commodities soared very high. Death by starvation was averted by the timely intervention of the Government. Narindra Nath Kaul, Revenue Minister, assisted by Salam Shah, Tehsildar, brought into being Shali Stores (now known as Food Control Department) of which every consumer was made a share-holder on payment of Rs. 11/- as share money. After a few months share money was returned and the concern was taken over by the Government. Shali was priced at Rupees five per *khirwar*, *hatab* (firewood) at annas eight per maund, bread five tolas one pice, milk annas two a seer, meat annas eight a seer and so on. Grain dealers, stockists, *gujjars*, and butchers were rounded up and their stocks seized if

they refused to sell at fixed prices. Novel punishments were given out of court such as cutting the beard on one side, dragging through the streets bare-headed and bare-footed. "Salam Shahun Suchh" became a household term. When Narindra Nath Kaul died even stones and bricks of Srinagar wept. Never was an administrator given such a funeral as he. He was the brain behind the economic revolution while Salam Shah was the executor of the policy. This revolution catered to the urban consumer at the cost of rural producer and voiceless labourer. Kashmir was deaf to what was happening beyond her North across the Himalayas.

During the summer of 1924, there was an uprising by the labourers of Srinagar Silk Factory and this incident was immediately followed by possession of a plot of land belonging to the State by the Muslims at Anantnag. For the first time a people politically oppressed appeared in revolt and the seed took roots*. Younghusband writes in "The Light of Experience" that Pratap Singh was a great gentleman and remained staunch in his loyalty to the British Crown and sedition had never the slightest chance in Kashmir. That is a reason why this movement did not receive external support then. The movement was suppressed and obviously it disappeared.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was a pious ruler. Though a Rajput, he did not take meat nor did he shoot any game. Every day from morn up to noon he would be busy with his "Puja". In the afternoon he would come in the open Durbar. Right up to the evening the Vitasta put up an appearance of lotus crop which he had offered to the Deity earlier. The Maharaja himfelf watched it from his window as did his "hum-

* When people met in thousands in Hazuribagh for a demonstration a battalion of the body-guard cavalry dispersed them without using spears. The casualties therefore were nominal. Another battalion of the army equipped with Sten Guns and Bren Guns was rushed to Anantnag which surrounded the whole town but no shot was fired. Saad-ud-Din Shawl was externed and Noor Shah Naqashband, a Tehsildar and a Jagirdar, was suspened and his jagir confiscated. The movement went under ground only to re-appear seven years later.

blest subjects". These lotus flowers came from his "place of worshop". The Khir Bhawani Mela on 8th day in the solar half of Jeth attracts large crowds at Tulamula. Maharaja Pratap Singh was a frequent visitor to the shrine on this day. He would go there in all pomp and distribute alms to the poor and the needy.

Arya Samaj preachers and Qadiani Muslims, also Biscoe Schools, gave a shaking to orthodox thinking.

His simplicity and unostentatiousness are proverbial. He was extravagantly liberal in *Dan* (charity). The current history has not come across a single anecdote that Pratap Singh had ever refused a gift or a charity. Some times he would relieve a widow. Some times he would come to the rescue of an orphan. May be that some times his charity was misplaced or his generosity abused. His Privy Purse which was one lakh per month minimum hardly made way outside the State, and there were few charges of luxury and extravagance. He would puff native tobacco all day long and he was accessible to the humblest of his subjects.

In his time law courts had begun to function. Ranbir Dand Bidhi was in force, and he* would himself take up investigation if a complaint came to his notice. This he had inherited from his father and

* A poor man once submitted a petition to him, saying that he had pawned a gold ornament to a shroff for a few rupees. "I am now returning him the money" stated he, "and asking back my ornament which I have made for my daughter who is going to be married soon, but the shroff is telling me that he had never lent any money to me nor any ornament was ever pawned by me to him". Maharaja Pratap Singh inquired from the poor man if he had got any proof, documentary or otherwise, to support his allegation. He told him that he had got none. The Maharaja then called him in private and, after satisfying himself of the truth of his complaint, instructed him to go to the money-lender at his shop at a certain hour the same day when, he said, he would reach there. The poor man went to the money-lender's shop and soon after he reached there on horse-back. He called the Petitioner to himself and, bending low from the horse-back, whispered something in his ear, feigning great intimacy with him. He then passed on. When the money-lender saw that the man had so much access to the Maharaja, he got frightened and at once gave back his ornament, recovering the few rupees he had lent him. The poor man went to the Maharaja exclaiming that he, as Daniel, had come to his judgment, the Shylock shroff having returned to him the ornament as soon as he had passed on from his shop. The Maharaja smiled and told the man to go home and be happy.

grand-father. But the punishments he awarded were not severe.

As there was unrest in the country, Gulab Singh had ordered to fire gun three times in a day—twelve noon, ten P.M. and four A.M. (winter) or three A.M. (summer). Twelve noon indicated time. Ten P.M. a signal to remain indoors and 4 A.M./3 A.M. indicated time limit within which the people were required to remain indoors. This practice continued up to Maharaja Hari Singh's reign, though in theory only because time had changed and "law and order" had come to stay. His successor discontinued this practice because it was needed no more.

Maharaja Pratap Singh was very fond of cricket. He maintained a cricket team and was himself one of the eleven. Thousands of spectators were attracted to see the Maharaja hitting the ball on the playground. He was exceptionally short-statured.

Maharaja Pratap Singh's State entry into Srinagar every year between May and June was a picturesque scene. At Shalteng he would take his seat in a specially decorated chakwari with Wazirs round him and as the chakwari moved up towards Shergarhi, thousands of people were attracted and watched the procession from roofs, windows and river ghats. The river Jhelum was literally littered with Shikaras moving to and fro.

Organised public opinion was suppressed as before though a solitary organisation or a solitary newspaper did make its appearance to mould the policy of administration as inspired officially. It was Dogra Sabha and *Ranbir* started from Jammu under special permission. When the author sought permission to start a paper from Srinagar he was told in writing by the then District Magistrate that it was not desirable to grant permission to a newspaper being started from Srinagar.

Mirwaiz and Hargopal Kaul lead Muslims and Pandits of Kashmir but inspiration and patronage from Government guided their activities which were restrict-

ed to social and religious spheres only in fitness of the times.

Kar-i-Sarkar or forced labour survived to his day but it was paid for. It may be that it was some times abused but it was not so rigorous as previously.

As education spread, a wave of resentment arose among the local intelligentsia against the outsiders who had almost all the services in their hands. The administration was mostly manned by them. The slogan of "State for States' People"* came to be heard everywhere, but the Maharaja paid little heed to this growing movement. Least did his councillors imagine that this *pukar* would become a public slogan one day and lead to a political movement that would be faced by his successor and one day culminate in "Quit Kashmir" slogan.

Pratap Singh was not blessed with a son. Once or twice a child was born to him but none survived. He adopted Jagat Dev Singh of Poonch Ruling family but Raja Amar Singh taking exception to his (former's) claim of succession frustrated the intrigue at the very initial stage. Jagat Dev became waterson to perform obsequies only and Hari Singh, the only son of Raja Amar Singh and nephew of Maharaja Pratap Singh, became thus the heir-apparent. And when he grew up, he became the Commander-in-Chief and later Senior and Foreign Member of Council.

Pratap Singh died on 23rd September 1925 A.D. at Srinagar. Jagat Dev Singh later succeeded to the gaddi of Poonch, a Jagir under the sovereignty of Kashmir Durbar.

Since his virtual deposition earlier, Pratap Singh was over loyal to the British Government. In his time a Britisher (Bara Sahib) moved about as God's anointed. The revenue of the State had risen to about rupees two crores. Rajputs were recruited in the army.

* The author was nominated a member of the Working Committee of A. I. States People Conference in 1926.

Brahmins of Jammu and Kashmir lived upon his orthodoxy. Muslims were backward. In Kashmir it is labour and trade that kept them just going. 85 per cent of the civil administration was usurped by the people of the neighbouring province of Punjab. A few low jobs such as a Patwari, schoolmaster, forest guard and clerk went to Kashmiri Pandits who flocked to schools and were utilised by the British Departmental Heads. Roughly calculated 75 per cent of the revenues went to Punjab, 15 per cent to Jammu and 10 per cent to Kashmir out of which Muslims got a negligible share. Civil liberties there were none. If there was any association its motto was 'God bless the king'. Pratap Singh would say "Don't give too much to Rajputs, use Kashmiri Pandits as much as you can and see that Muslims do not starve". He started a move to attract people from outside to settle in the State. Lands were doled out to them. The economic and political condition of the people was very backward so much so that joint family system had come to stay by dire need as hardly one in a family was an earner. It is only after the Great War I that people started converting earthen utensils into brass or copper ones. People were so poor that even Hindus could not change earthen utensils on such days as Shivratri or Shrada day. The custom prevails even now in some houses inspite of changed economic position. Pratap Singh was accessible to people and he was in touch with what happened around him. Some times he would baffle official informers. A kind word pays in the long run. When he died Kashmiris did say that he was a pious ruler.

HARI SINGH

Maharaja Hari Singh*, the ex-ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, was born in September 1895. He was the son of Raja Amar Singh and a great grandson of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He joined the Mayo College, Ajmer in 1908 at the age of 13. Later on he was sent to Dehra Dun for military training. On his return he was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of State forces in 1915 when he was only 20 years of age. He took up the post of Senior Member of the then State Council in 1922.

Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the Gaddi in September 1925 but Rajtilak ceremony was performed in February 1926 at Jammu. The new Maharaja announced agricultural reforms and further extension of educational and other facilities.**

As mentioned before both Dogras and Kashmiris were demanding representation in services. At last, due to the support of the ruler himself, came the State Subject's Definition in 1927 which protects the children of the soil in recruitment to services and other privileges against outsiders. According to the Definition only those persons who settled in the State before Samvat 1942 came to be recognised as hereditary State Subjects

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* *Inside Asia* by John Gunther—"The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir is named Sir Hari Singh. In 1925 in London as Mr. A he was the central figure and victim in a celebrated £ 30,00,000 blackmail case. In court, Sir John Simon called him a poor, green, shivering abject wretch".

** The generation now ruling the country is the offspring of a generation that lived through abject misery. Hanji class was a notorious lot. Srinagar city of early twenties presented a grim picture—two prostitution centres at Zaina Kadal and Gow Kadal, thefts day and night, begging so common that a huge crowd would pounce upon a Dumri (1/16th of an anna), labour so cheap that a Khirwar of shali could be husked at annas four, unasked for house to house service by women, illiteracy so glaring that only few Gods anointed could read or write, unemployment so acute that hardly one was an earning member in a family of ten or twelve, birth rate low and death rate high due to diseases for which no treatment was available, recreations and amusements were unknown. The population of the city had risen to 1½ lakh. There were a few tradesmen and land-lords who were known as Khojas, a very small percentage. Incomes of shopkeepers, artisans were very small, less than annas eight a day. Dirty clothes were a common feature, soap being both scarce and costly. The plight of Sikhs was equally frightful. Pandits as a class looked a little better off to the extent of a difference upto 5%. They were constables, petty teachers, clerks and patwaries. They had condemned artisans jobs—political bankruptcy.

of class I. This measure was implemented by training local talent for different offices. Its rigidity is over now. Writes Alberuni—"People of Kashmir are particularly anxious about the actual strength of their country and therefore take always great care to keep a strong hold upon the entrance and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them......At present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people". This has got to be reckoned as a historical background for this move.

Writes (Justice) Jia Lal Kilam in his book 'A History of Kashmiri Pandits' :—

"Those were the days when the whole of India was pregnant with many great revolutionary potentialities. Though there was no freedom of press or platform in the State, yet a stir was clearly visible in the whole State excepting in the powers that were. The movement went under-ground. The present writer and a number of educated Pandit youngmen alongwith a Kashmiri Pandit journalist—Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul—wrote extensively to outside papers and issued hand written and some times cyclostyled posters in which the short comings of the ruling Junta were discussed thread bare. This went on for some time till contacts were estabilished with writers in other states".

Following the movement launched by the Muslims in 1931* for political reforms and civic rights the Maharaja appointed a Commission[1] (Grievances Enquiry) of representatives of communities which was presided over by a British Officer, Mr. (later Sir) B. G. Glancy. As a result of this enquiry religious places that had

* On July 13th the Central Jail was attacked by a furious mob. There was firing as a result of which nine persons were killed.

1. This Commission was preceded by yet two other Commissions presided over by Sir Barjore Dalal and Mr. Middleton respectively. All the three Commissions probed particularly into Muslim grievances—the question was civic liberties and services. The author was one of scores of people who also submitted a memorandum to Dalal Commission. Bulk of the evidence revealed only communal trends in politics of the day. Feudalism was on its last legs.

passed into the hands of the Government were restored back to the Muslims and other communities, adequate representation to different communities in services was guaranteed and proprietary rights to zemindars on their lands were granted. The freedom of the press and the platform also came in its wake. The movement of 1931 created a mass leader in the person of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who in the initail stages placed a communal view-point before the people.[1] Later on, say in 1939, he became wedded to the nationalist school of thought asking for responsible Government. The ideology attracted to him non-Muslims as well. There were stirs in other communities also and the most important of these were the 'Bread Movement' of Kashmir and the 'Cow Agitation' of Jammu. The former followed the publication of the Grievances Enquiry Commission Report and was led by Kashmiri Pandits who interpreted the report as an anti-Hindu document which would bang all doors of services against them and even impede the course of their development. Prem Nath Bazaz, Kashmiri Pandits' representative on the Commission, who had pleaded for recreation facilities in I'dgah was publicly hooted. The High Court had reduced punishment prescribed by law for cow killing in a single case. The Dogras protested against this.[2]

Praja Sabha (People's Assembly) was established in 1934 and about 6 per cent of the population only was given the right of vote. The Praja Sabha consisted of 75 members, 33 of them being elected. In 1939, the elected element was raised from 33 to 40 and the

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1. The question how this movement gained momentum has an answer. The Muslims were too backward educationally, politically and economically. They were summoned for *begar* and they were hewers of wood, drawers of water and tillers of land. The Britishers pulled them up if they did not actually inspire them. Their aim was to make Kashmir a colony. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was only a school teacher then took the bold risk of giving a lead and he gave the lead. The alleged desecration of holy Quran by a Head Constable in Jammu Jail struck the first spark. It spread throughout the State like wild fire in a forest. Pulpits in mosques were converted into political platform. Police and army went into action. There were loot and arson. (The author also was a victim of mob fury two days later when he was on a round). Subsequent events revealed that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and consistency were not identical. He changed his front too often and created new stunts to attain his goal.

2. The law prescribed seven years imprisonment for the killing of a cow.

constitution was further liberalised but increased representation was given to vested interests to hoodwink democracy.

Judicial reform was not lost sight of. In March 1928, a High Court comprising a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges was established. In 1930, the jurisdiction exercised by Residency courts was transferred to the State courts. This decreased the influence of the Political Department on local administration. A Judicial Advisory Board akin to the Privy Council in the case of British India, was also established to advice His Highness in regard to the disposal of Judicial cases going up to him in appeal. On 10th September 1943, Letters Patent, was granted to the High Court thus bringing it in line with modern canons of law. The judiciary in the State was thus made completely independent of the Executive.

Before the introduction of Settlement of Land under Mr. W. Lawrence the status of cultivators was awfully bad. The State's share of revenue revised to 30 per cent of the gross produce contributed some relief. The total area under cultivation was 2,256,000 acres. The Settlement itself is repeated after 40 years. The Agriculturist's Relief Act specially relieved the cultivator from the clutches of the money-lender. The Village Panchayats gained impetus from 1937. They attend to medical relief, education, sanitation, rural uplift etc., and dispose of petty cases. Out of 300 and odd Acts passed during the last 20 years, Alienation of Land Act of 1928 and Consolidation of Holdings Act 1940 did much to ameliorate the lot of Zamindars. Free and compulsory primary education for boys was introduced to fight mass illiteracy. Trade, commerce and industry received impetus through the Exhibition which was founded in 1929.

On March 9, 1931, Her Highness the Junior Maharani* who had accompanied the Maharaja to

* She (Tara Devi) is the fourth wife of Maharaja Hari Singh, the first three having died issueless. She comes of Katoch Rajput family from Kangra District.

London in 1930 gave birth to a prince—Maharaj Kumar Karan Singh Ji, (heir-apparent) at Cannes in the South of France. Since Pratap Singh's times the Dogra House had not been favoured with a male issue.

Social Reform :—Marriage of boys under 18 and of girls under 14 was prohibited, even before the Sharda Act had been passed in British India. Rajputs who killed their daughters after birth were forbidden to do so. During the previous reigns, Rajputs and Brahmins were immune from capital punishment. This disparity was ended. The Juvenile Smoking Act was passed to save the rising generation from a bad habit. Harijans against whom the doors of temples had been banned were allowed freedom of worship on 2nd November 1932. Traffic in women was put an end to. Restriction against Hindu widows that they could not re-marry was removed.

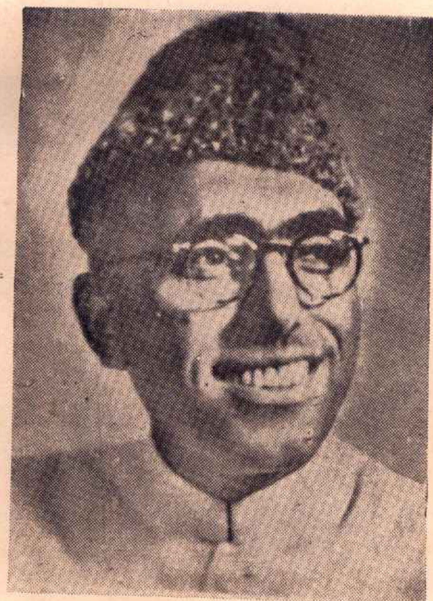
The seed for local self-government was sown in earlier days. The Municipal Committees at Srinagar and Jammu were official bodies in the initial stages. As education advanced and civic sense developed, municipal reforms also came. The first step was taken in 1913, then next in 1921, again in 1927-28 and finally in 1936. Just as measures were adopted to discourage emigration of labour, so was overcrowding in the cities guarded against under Town Planning which recommended extension. Old maps were redrawn.

The introduction of the basic system and recognition of the Double Script (Persian and Devnagri) for education were experiments which did not make much headway. The construction of three new hospitals at Mirpur, Jammu and Srinagar on modern scientific lines at an immense cost was designed to provide improved medical aid. For the last so many years plague has not been heard of in Jammu.

In 1935, Gilgit was leased out to the Paramount Power on certain conditions under an agreement reached between the two Governments.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad →





← Sh. Mohammad Abdullah

The flood of 1929 was one of the severest ever witnessed by Kashmir. It caused immense loss of property. This was followed by another in 1931.

In the domain of industries besides the Silk Factory which is the largest of its kind in the world there came into being Match Factory, Santonine Factory, Tannery, Pottery Factory, Woollen Mill, Silk Weaving Factory, Sheep Breeding Farm, Pyrethrum Cultivation, Resin and Turpentine Factory, Half Wrought Factory, Drug Research Laboratory,* Kashmir Willows, Sugar Mill, Indianite Factory. The Jammu and Kashmir Bank reflects prospects of these and other industries.

The World War II broke out in 1939. Like his predecessors the ruler left no stone unturned to help the war effort. He offered services of one Infantry Brigade Signal Section and four Battalions of Infantry (1st and 2nd Mountain Battery, 3rd Rifles, 4th, 7th and 9th Infantry, Artillery Training Centre), 18 completely equipped motor ambulances, Kashmir House at Delhi without rent, Lock-heed plane besides contributions in money and men. The total number of

* Recently a wild growing plant, 'adhota vasica' (Vasaka), was brought from Kashmir Valley to a research laboratory in Jammu for screening. The results showed that the plant could probably be a substitute for streptomycin—an antibiotic effective against typhoid and tuberculosis.

Today the same laboratory known by the name of Drug Research Laboratory, is conducting detailed studies on the plant. The laboratory was set up to exploit the plant resources of the State and to establish a national drug industry. Since its inception the laboratory has carried out a detailed survey of several medicinal plants, helped in their cultivation on a commercial scale and assisted the drug industry to utilize them for standard preparations at economic cost. Out of 2,000 estimated medicinal plants in India, over 1700 species are available here mounted and carefully preserved. Included in the herbarium are 300 samples of different grasses collected after an extensive survey of the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. The analysis has shown that about 20 types of grasses possess nutritive value which can be utilised effectively. Similar experiments made with oil-bearing plants show that they can yield enough oil to be used in pharmaceutical soap and cosmetic industries. Side by side, the laboratory is analysing the drugs available to "hakims" and "Vaidyas". In addition about a score of plants used in indigenous systems of medicine have been investigated by the application of modern scientific methods. Their active principles have been isolated, their pharmacalogical action investigated and their suitability as medicines has been determined. Search also continues for plants effective in combating insects and pests. Insecticidal plants like "pyrethrum" and "derris" have been successfully cultivated in Kashmir and Jammu. Another plant "tephrosia" is being introduced.

recruits supplied was nearly 65,000 and the total aid amounted to Rs. 9,87,315/8/- (war aid), Rs. 2,79,247/1/6 (Privy Purse), £40,000 and £1,000. The State troops won distinction at Keren (Eritrea) and Damascus (Syria). The ruler personally visited the Middle East in October 1941 and Italy in 1944.

At the first Round Table Conference held in London, Maharaja Hari Singh boldly advocated India's freedom. And at the time Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with an offer, he issued a historical statement advocating the same ideal. In 1944 he himself appointed two Popular Ministers and in 1945 he gave the Premiership to a mulki just giving an opportunity to State Subjects for manning the highest posts in the administration but times had gone much ahead to hypnotise people with such eye-wash reforms.

Maharaja Hari Singh was fond of polo and shikar very much as his predecessor was of cricket and puja. The two palaces of Gupkar and Ramnagar, the Hari Singh High Street and the Boulevard round the Dal Lake reveal taste of a builder. The revenue which the State yielded in 1945-46 was Rs. 4,24,54,000.

But in spite of this, differences continued to exist between various communities. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs presented a separate stand-point each. The politics of Kashmir was greatly influenced by the politics of British India. "Akhand Hind" and "Pakistan" slogans assured no sweet promise. In spite of obvious clash of interests both province-wise* and community-wise there was a common ideal before all—responsible government under the aegis of the ruler which later on culminated in the "Quit Kashmir" movement.

Writes Maud Diver in *Royal India*, "The position of Kashmir is that of Hyderabad reversed and given the moral support of the British Government, there is every possibility of a peaceful solution that may be

* Exclusive Dogra Army, Rajput Military School, Arms Act, etc. accounted for provincialism while begar and calling of *hato* (nickname given to Kashmir Muslims) accounted for communalism. Rajput Military School was started with the money that would have been otherwise spent on charity among Brahmins at the death of Pratap Singh.

reasonably expected to endure". The British mind thought like this.

The Civil Disobedience Movement started in 1931 rooted itself deeply into the soil as champion of the rights of the peasant, the artisan and the worker. The sponsors of the movement were Muslims. That was only natural. It is they who had been reduced mostly to a position of servitude since the coming of the Sikhs. The non-Muslims opposed the rising tide with the result that communal clashes could not be averted. Both as petty officer or as landlord and shahokar (money-lender) the Hindu had played no small part in shaking the confidence of his countrymen. But communal discord subsided soon.* In 1933 support of the Sikhs and the Hindus was enlisted to work jointly for the welfare of the masses. In his presidential address at the J. & K. Muslim Conference in 1932 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said : "We stand for the rights of all communities. Our country's progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between the different communities. This is possible only when each community** learns to appreciate the view point of other communities". The Muslim Conference became extinct in 1939, its place was taken by the National Conference. The same year gave birth to the famous National Demand which was signed by representatives of all communities. The "Quit India" movement started by the Indian National Congress in 1942 was followed by "Quit Kashmir" movement led by the National Conference in 1946 preceded by adoption of "New Kashmir" as the goal in 1944 which promised freedom from all form of political and economic exploitation. The National Conference in its historical memorandum to the Cabinet Mission declared "Today the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the demand of a responsible Government but their right to absolute

* The Bread movement in Kashmir and the Cow agitation in Jammu sadly reflected the communal mind and extended the spheres of contagion.

** This was a diplomatic move. By this time the Muslims realised that they could not singly overthrow eighty-five-year old regime even with the support of Britishers.

freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House". This was followed by the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on May 20, 1946. And from that moment onwards there was "blood, sweat and tears". Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was taken into custody in June 1946 near about Kohala, while on his way to Srinagar which further changed the course of history in the country.* On July 22, 1946 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and Rs. 500/- fine.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, spared no labours to convert Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to his way of thinking but he met with no success. Mr. R. C. Kak dreamed of isolation for Kashmir but he was asked to quit from his office six days before India and Pakistan were declared independent.** Mahatma Gandhi who visited Kashmir in his time was also not heard. He stated, "The Kashmiris had one language, one culture and so far as I could see, they are one people. The Treaty of Amritsar was in reality a deed of sale". The question of the State's accession remained undecided.[1] Too late was Abdullah released.

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* Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru defied the law of the State. This turned the balance against the ruler. The Indian National Congress which Nehru represented violated the internal autonomy of the State to which both the Congress and the British Government were then committed. Hari Singh was no match against Nehru who could overthrow the Britisher. The arrest gave a fillip to 'Quit Kashmir' Movement which ultimately triumphed. If Nehru had not been arrested, events that followed would have been different. Nehru would have gained his point and Hari Singh also would have retained his throne, only if tact and sagacity had been tried on both sides.

Maulana Abu-ul-Kalam Azad writes in his book 'India Wins Freedom' The Congress had enough headache with the Cabinet Mission and its Plans......... This was not the proper occasion to start a new quarrel over Kashmir.

** Kak interpreted the mind of the Maharaja who was inspired by Sant Dev, the Raj Guru, that he would be an independent monarch and would occupy Ranjit Singh's throne at Lahore. Hari Singh's dream looked real. Hindus and Muslims would fight one another after independence. He would march to Lahore with his army and capture the coveted throne. When the Britishers took the decision they had such a picture in mind.

1. The question of accession would not have cropped up at all if Radcliff Award had not given Madhopur-Pathankot Corridor to India linking her up with the State,

Lord Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy, played a diplomatic role. It is during his time that the Corridor was conceived and it is during his time also that State's token accession to India was later partially accepted. Was it designed that Kashmir should continue to be the bone of contention between India and Pakistan for amusement of Britain and the world ?

Kashmir was passing through a crisis. Kak was followed by Janak Singh, Batra and Mahajan. None of them could cope with the situation. Batra even inspired R. S. S. training and set up one medium wave transmitter at Jammu feeling that if Kashmir could not be retained a front would be created whether independently or within the Indian Union to ward off the enemy from Jammu. The transmitter was secured through Sardar Patel and the Radio Station came to be known later as Radio Kashmir. One unforgettable incident is mentioned here.

The day Baramulla was making last resistence a deputation waited upon Mahajan. He plainly told the deputation that since further resistence was impossible he would advise the people to cross Banihal on foot, by tonga, by bus, by boat and in this task Police boss and District Magistrate would render all possible help. He also said that he was making arrangements for the Maharaja to reach Jammu. District Magistrate was available no where. Inspector-General of Police was helpless as transport was scanty. And whatever he could lay his hands on he managed to supply to Dogras who took to heels during the whole night and day that followed. This was an hour of great trial for non-Muslims who could not imagine what was coming ahead and for Muslims who were making every effort to promise protection. The deputation consisted of Bhagat Karam Chand, Bala Kak Dhar, Thakur Kartar Singh, B. N. Nehru, Satyapal Vohra and the author. Planes that brought in troops carried back refugees mostly Punjabis. The whole sight was dreadful.

Extract from "Mission with Mountbatten":—

"One Sikh Battalion consisting of 330 men was flown on Tuesday, October 28, 1947 to block a major invasion by North-West Frontier tribesmen—the Kashmir Government accused Pakistan of failure to provide supplies of several essential commodities and protested about a number of small border raids."

"Three days before the transfer of power and the

accession time limit the Kashmir Government announced its intention of signing Standstill Agreement with both India and Pakistan. Subseqently the India Government's policy has been to refrain from inducing Kashmir to accede. The Maharaja's choice in decision must be accounted a big factor in the present crisis. Almost any course of action taken quickly would have saved his State from this turmoil. Procrastination alone was fatal but in combating major crisis it would seem that, as with the Nizam, this is the only weapon in his diplomatic armoury."

"5,000 tribesmen had attacked and captured Muzaffarabad and Domel on 25th October and were already little more than 35 miles from Srinagar. The rush of events had unnerved the Maharaja who felt lone and helpless. He left Srinagar with his wife and son on 26th October on strong advice of India's representative who was on the spot. The same day the Maharaja signed the Letter of Accession. There was only one squadron of cavalry left to hold the invaders. "While urging the Maharaja to make up his mind about accession before the transfer of power Mountbatten had all along, from his visit in June onwards, exerted his whole influence to prevent him from acceding to one Dominion or the other without first taking steps to ascertain the will, of his people by referendum, Plebiscite, election or even if these methods were impracticable, by representative public meetings". Jinnah, on the other hand, was hoist with his own petard, as it was he who chose over Junagadh, to take his stand on the ever-riding validity of the ruler's personal decision."

"You can't build a nation on tricks. Jinnah at Abbotabad had been expecting to ride in triumph into Kashmir. First there was Junagadh. Then Hyderabad. India's readiness to accept a plebiscite had been declared from the outset. A large scale massacre, including a couple of hundred British residents in Srinagar, by Tribesmen would have been inevitable if no military move had been made. The Maharaja's accession gave complete legality to the action so far taken."

—Mountbatten.

"Jinnah had given orders for Pakistan troops to be moved into Kashmir but these were called off subsequently when Auchinleck explained to Jinnah that in so far as Kashmir had acceded to India the Government of India had a perfect right to send troops in response to the Maharaja's request."

"The result was in the hands of God, men could but do or die. He would not shed a tear if the little Union force was wiped out like the Spartans barvely defending Thermopylae nor would he mind Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his Muslim, Hindu and Sikh comrades, dying at their posts in the defence of Kashmir. That would be a glorious example to the rest of India."

—M. K. Gandhi.

"Pakistan did not recognise the accession describing it as based on fraud and violence. At the Jinnah-Mounbatten meeting at Lahore the latter maintained that accession had indeed been brought about by violence but the violence came from the tribes for whom Pakistan was responsible. Jinnah's attitude to a plebiscite was conditioned by his belief that the combination of Indian troops in occupation and Sh.Mohammad Abdullah in power meant that the average Muslim would be far too frightened to vote for Pakistan. Mountbatten proposed a plebiscite under U. N. O. auspices whereupon Jinnah asserted that only the two Governors-General could organise it."

"On November 3, Nehru made a broadcast offering a United Nations controlled plebiscite for Kashmir which did not react so well in Jinnah who objected to the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir before any plebiscite could be held. Had Maharaja joined Pakistan before the transfer of Power, India would not have regarded the act unfriedly, says Alan Campbell Johnson."

"With Pakistan's knowledge India lodged an appeal with the United Nations on January 9, 1948. No attack was developed on Uri and the Indian troops

there made no contact with hostile forces as that would be an event which could well touch off the wider confl-ict. This was meant to be avoided, the issue being subj-udice before the Security Council according to Mountbatten." —Alan Campbell Johnson.

Pakistan had meanwhile an "economic crisis" for Kashmir, in spite of Standstill Agreement with her Shiekh Abdullah who had been released by this time stressed that it was the people's right to decide their own future. While negotiations were going on both at Lahore and Delhi about the future settlement, Muzaff-arabad was raided on October 22, 1947. Trouble in Poonch had started earlier. With Brigadier Rajendra Singh making desperate stand against the raiders near Buniyar, the civil administration collapsed at the head-quarters, the Peace Brigade and the National Militia of the National Conference took up the defence crying "Raiders beware; we Kashmiris are ready" Baramulla fell into the enemy hands on Octaber 26. And what happe-ned. The Maharaja left for Jammu, leaving poor Kashmir to her own fate. ** At the joint request of Hari Singh and Shiekh Abdullah India at last accepted accession on Oct. 24 and "decided to intervene with the armed forc-es of the Union" who landed in Srinagar on October 27 when raiders were sacking, burning and looting round the northern walls of the city. Wave of joy again spread in the country. The raiders were driven off and Baramulla was recaptured on November 7. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was sworn in as Head of Emerg-ency Administration on October 30. The necessities of life having been stranded at Rawalpindi the price of salt at once rose to Rs. 16/- per seer.[1]

*It is this Militia which later on became the regular army and broke the 'Gordian Knot.'

**That was a fit reward of 100 years rule.

1. It must be confessed that about 15 to 20 thousand Sikhs were massa-cred during the raids. At the 1941 Census they were hardly half a lakh. The Kashmiri Pandits were mostly looted and a few converted in the northern Illaqa. After the Indian Army reached Srinagar, about 15 to 20 thousand of them (say 1/4th of a lakh) left the valley. Yes it is these Hindus and Sikhs who Co-operated with the National Conference and kept the torch of Nationalism ablaze in Kashmir which greatly justified Kash-mir's accession with India.

One thing important to mention here is the Lal Chowk pledge which history cannot overlook. While raiders were being driven out Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave pledges to each other on behalf of their respective countries in presence of a huge gathering. Since 1953 there has been parting of the ways. What those pledges were and who violated them are a mystery to the common man ?

The year 1948 was a period of great pressure on home front as well as war front. The cease-fire line was ultimately drawn by which Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Mirpur and a part of Poonch now known as "Azad Kashmir" (occupied Kashmir) were allowed to remain with the insurgents under an over-all control of Pakistan.[1] Mohammad Ibrahim, Ch. Ghulam Abbas and M. Yusuf Shah held command there. While Ibrahim organised revolt from Poonch the latter two joined him after partition.

On the home front, the duly constituted Government headed by eight popular Ministers* looked after refugee problem and introduced many a reform mostly

1. Yuvak Sabha which should have looked after the Hindus who had suffered became defunct temporarily. Sudhar Simiti, a new born social organisation, instead appeard on the scene, toured the whole northern area and reclaimed all those Hindus who had been converted to Islam during the raid. It was a gigantic task to rehabilitate about ten thousand people. Kashmiri Pandit Community stirred under emotion but always lacked sound leadership. Though few in number Kashmiri Pandits being an educated community associated themselves with every rising political current in the country. This was interpreted as opportunism on their part. When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah gave up Communalism Prem Nath Bazaz and few others associated themselves with him. During his "Quit Kashmir" campaign, Sham Lal Saraf and few others associated with him. When he started Anti-India campaign Rugh Nath Vaishnavi and few others associated with him. Dina Nath Nadim and few others associated themsevels with Communists led by Ghulam Mohd. Sadiq. Such association came forth in individual capacity and Community as a whole sided with the ruling class from time to time. They had done so during the six hundred and odd years of alien rule. That is how they have been surviving.

*The Cabinet consisted of :—

1. S. M. Abdullah
2. Bakshhi Ghulam Mohammad
3. M. A. Beg
4. G. M. Sadiq
5. S. L. Saraf } Nominees
6. G. L. Dogra } Nominees
7. Col. Peer Mohd. } Nominees
8. S. Budh Singh. } Nominees

The last two were deleted later on.

agrarian.[1] Canals were dug and roads constructed to increase production and promote communication. Food and other essential supplies were imported. Land was particularly passed on to the tiller. Jammu, where communal madness had shown its head, was cooled down. Jagirdari and Zamindari were liquidated. Transport Service was built up. Ejectment of tenants was stayed and moratorium was laid on non-commercial debts. The common man was in the picture and relieved. Chenani which was a jurisdictional Jagir having an area of 95 square miles and a population of 12,000 was taken over on April 5. Muqarraries amounting about Rs. 1,77,925 reverted to the State Exchequer. Co-operative movement received a further fillip and the institution of Zaildars and Nambardars was re-organised on elective basis. Emporia were established in important towns of India.

Maharaja Hari Singh went into voluntary exilement and his place as constitutional head of the State was taken by his only son Yuvraj Karan Singh.** This took place in 1949 when the question of Kashmir was already pending before the Security Council of the United Nations where India and Pakistan figured as complainants and defendants respectively. The five man Commission which reported failure was followed by 1. Sir Owen Dixon and 2. Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations' representatives who also reported failure.

Hari Singh followed a policy which was opposed to that of his uncle. It was for show that he fixed his uncle's photo on his crown. He went out of his way to help the Rajputs. He became conscious of the inherent strengh of the Muslim and the more he tried to raise

1. The slogan given during 'Quit Kashmir' movement that on transfer of power Ministers would attend offices on foot and would not change their residence was clean forgotten. Messrs Budh Singh, jia Lal Kilam and Kashyap Bundhn who had announced that they would work on Rs. 100/- p.m. only, latter claimed all arrears of pay and full grade of the post. Sardar Budh Singh even collected his pension.

**Hari Singh had developed strained relations with his wife. Shri Karan Singh, his only son, agreed to work for the state. Thus Hari Singh lost all his kingdom, his wife and son. He lived the rest of his life mostly in Bombay where his only hobby was horse breeding and his only entertianment horse races.

their standard the more they became critical of him. The "Mr. A. Case" had already demoralised him. As ruler he offended the Britishers. As Head of the Ruling family he did not behave well with his aunt and the Poonch branch. His own three wives died in grief. He inspird 'State Subjects Definition' which was a challenge to the people of the Punjab and all aliens. British Departmental Heads were gradually replaced by Rajput upstarts. The revenue of the State had risen to over Rs. 4 crores out of which he took away more then 12¾ per cent in cash and kind. 40 per cent still went out. Out of the balance 30 per cent went to Jammu and hardly 17¼ per cent to Kashmir. This could not feed the growing population.

He was not accessible to his own people. He would love a polo pony more then his *ryot*. He would not trust his advisors whoever they were. Around him the times were changing at atomic speed. His gifted intelligence and acquired education did dot guide him well. He never paid a visit to the far flung areas of his kingdom. Thus unrest at home and tranfer of power beyond his boundary brought to end 100 years of Dogra rule. Overcome by provincial bias he once ordered fixation of headquarters at Jammu in place of Srinagar. The resentment of Kashmiris at this ludicrous move was natural. The move was dropped after a few years' sad experiment.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Lenin of Kashmir, was born in December 1905 in the family of shawl makers at Soura, 6 miles away from Srinager. Poverty greeted him on his birth. The seeds of a revolution were sown in a simple reading room at Fateh Kadal where he and his friends met and discussed the future of Kashmir. The first storm blew across Jammu. The long waiting was exhausted and the stage set. Mr. Abdullah defied tyranny when he delivered his first speech at Jama Masjid. Since that moment he courted arrests until one day the tale echoed in the plains of the Punjab attracting persons like Iqbal at the earlier stages. First a communalist (1931), then a nationalist (1939) and

later a socialist (1944) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rode a high horse. To such a man, Jinnah and his hymn of hate could have no attraction. His instinct took him towards Nehru and his hymn of love. But he was not prepared to go whole hog.

On coming to power what did he do? He installed an University and a Radio Station to spread education and to promote culture. The ancient Kashmir was once again put on the cultural map of world. In the eyes of some he was a Muslim as Gandhiji was a Hindu.

The greatest achievement of Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was the convening of the sovereign constituent Assembly for the State which met in October 1951, seventy-five members of which were returned on basis of adult suffrage and joint electorates.* But only one political party fought elections. The Assembly took bold decisions, refused compensation to landlords, abolished hereditary rule and designed a new State flag and emblem.

About 150,000 absentee landlords were made to surrender 4,500,000 kanals of land. The Text Book Advisory Board evolved a common script (Persian Arabic-Nasakh Style) which has not become popular though.

Girls' Colleges were established. The Transport Service commands a fleet of 400 vehicles. Debts amounting to about six crores of rupees were liquidated. Hundreds of Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies for distribution of necessaties of life were established throughout the State.

Zainpur canal (50,000 acres), Sumbal canal (5,000 acres), Mawar canal (4,000 acres), Kishtwar canal (5,000 acres) and Udhampur canal (24,000 acres) are under construction. The Sindh Valley Hydro-Electric Project to irrigate 2,000 acres and to produce 13,000

*Kashmir 45, Jammu 30,—Muslim 48, Pandit 3, Sikhs 3, Dogras 10, Buddhist 1. Kargil Shia 1. The elections admittedly were not free and fair. The resentment simply went under ground.

kwts of electricity is now complete. This Project was conceived in 1942, a token beginning was made in 1946 and actual work was redoubled after 1955. Two generators have already been installed and two more are to be installed. The project has cost Rs. 2.75 lakhs. The present yield is 6,000 kwts. President of India congratulated Kashmir while performing its opening ceremony.

B. C. G. team of the World Health Organization vaccinated more than a lakh of people against chest diseases. Five years were ear-marked for vaccination of entire population. Flood control bunds have been erected by Co-operative effort. Before the Second World War the revenue of the State never exceeded Rs. 2,50,00,000. It rose to Rs. 5,75,00,000 by 1945. It dropped to Rs. 2,74,00,000 in 1947. In 1951 it was estimated to be Rs. 4,57,00,000. About 4 lakh kanals of cultivable land were made available to speed up production.

While all this is said the impartial historian cannot suppress the other side of the picture. As popular administration continued on mass discontent also stepped up. This is not so much due to Indo-Pakistan controversy as it is due to taxation, corruption, unemployment, high prices and security measures. While prices have shot up four to eight times incomes have not correspondingly increased. The Government itself raised the price of shali from Rs. 8.25 to Rs. 10.50 per khirwar. It is on the price of this staple food that prices of other commodities revolve. Taxation at the base hardly goes long way to balance a budget.*

Extracts from Mehar Chand Mahajan's (Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir during the fateful period of 1947) diary :—

"Jinnah's British Military Secretary came thrice to Srinagar with letters from Jinnah to persuade Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan. Jinnah's Private Secretary was in Srinagar for a number of weeks creating hatred against India. Maharaja Hari Singh had

* It must be admitted that Sh. Abdullah's administration could not carry along the District of Ladakh and the Province of Jammu.

already declined Jinnah's desire to spend summer in Kashmir as Governor-General of Pakistan. Standstill Agreement was signed with Pakistan before 15th August. (According to R. C. Kak no such agreement was signed upto 11th August). Mountbatten in his three days visit to Kashmir hinted at Kashmir's accession with Pakistan both to Maharaja Hari Singh and Mehar Chand Mahajan. (This is confirmed by R. C. Kak to whom Mountbatten had said—you must consider your geographical position, your political situation and the composition of your population and then decide). (Mehar Chand Mahajan had taken over on 15th October). Chitral and Hunza had wired their loyalty to the Maharaja but at the same time pleaded State's accession with Pakistan. Major Shah compelled me to see him. He had accession draft in one hand and sword in another. This was Pakistan speaking. Then came trade blockade, communal frenzy in Jammu, border raids. Jammu mosque was fortified and a plan was hatched to kidnap the Maharaja and abduct M. C. Mahajan at Bhimber Dak bungalow but it was frustrated as the Maharaja changed his programme on the way. The raid was initially organised by Ex-Army Officers. The British Commander-in-Chief had maldistributed the State forces which weakened defence against the raid that came on 23rd October. There was no reply available to the request for help and the accession Deed on 24th and 25th October. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself took a plane flight to Delhi on 25th October. Jinnah made a programme to celebrate I'd at Srinagar. His Commander-in-Chief pushed two brigades on 27th October via Sialkot and Rawalpindi. Indian troops were also flown on 27th morning. This halted Pakistani brigades. Delhi took this decision on 26th. M. C. Mahajan and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who were on the spot agreed for such a decision. If this decision had not been taken M. C. Mahajan was instructed to surrender to Pakistan on 25th October when suddenly Menon came who advised the Maharaja to leave for Jammu and M. C. Mahajan for Delhi. Thus was the State saved and the war between the two dominions averted".

According to R. C. Kak the policy of his government was that Kashmir should accede neither to India nor to Pakistan but should execute Standstill Agreement with both to meet the needs of the immediate future.

"I would crave the indulgence of the House if I delve into the history of Jammu and Kashmir before 1947 and soon after that. We find that from times immemorial Kashmir has been a part of India excepting for a short period when it came under the Afghan sway in the early part of the nineteenth century. It was the brave Sikh ruler of Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who reconquered Kashmir for India, and later on the Dogras took over in 1846.

"The Dogra rulers were always patriotic and they conquered Ladakh in 1824 and Gilgit soon after that, and brought them into the map of India. They gave good and stable government to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. I might recollect with great pleasure on this occasion that it was Maharaja Hari Singh who kept up the family tradition and the flag of Jammu and Kashmir flying high up when he spoke at the First Round Table Conference in 1930. When Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, opposed the move of independence for India on the plea that His Majesty's Government had given solemn assurances to the Indian Princes to keep their integrity in tact. It was Maharaja Hari Singh, who at that time as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, spoke in London some time between the 12th November 1930 and 19th January 1931.

"As allies of British, we stand solidly, behind the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations".

"It was a period when very few of the Princes could ever dare to use such words in favour of the independence of India. It was later on really a bad turn of destiny that this patriotic son of Jammu and Kashmir made a mistake by not joining India before 15th August 1947, in spite of the advice of Mahatmaji and Acharya Kripalani, the then President of All India National Congress. But it should not be forgotten that it was never the intention of the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir to join Pakistan, in spite of the machinations of Mr. Jinnah through Colonel Webb, the then British Resident who was hand in glove with the creator of Pakistan. It was the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Rao Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak and his Scotch wife that were the instruments of Colonel Webb to influence the Maharaja.

"It is known that the later events made the Maharaja give up his dream of being an independent ruler like the Nizam of Hyderabad due to the invasion by Pakistan on the Kashmir territory—and made him request for help from India to stem the invasion, that was a threat to the four million people of Jammu and Kashmir. His accession to India at that time was an event which was hailed as an act of patriotism by all sections of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and it was also considered a step in the right direction. Thus, a new chapter opened in the history of Jammu and Kashmir.

"It is pertinent for me to point out here that the leader of the National Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself, supported the Maharaja in his move to accede to India with a view to achieve the ideals for which the National Conference struggled for many years, namely, responsible Government of a secular nature as an integral part of India. The National Conference confirmed this action of the Maharaja and the decision of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in their election manifesto. The official seal of this decision was given by the President of India on May 14, 1954".

Lakshman Singh Charak
(Lok Sabha Debate 27-9-1954)

(That Ram Chandra Kak influenced Hari Singh in favour of independence is against facts. It was Swami Sant Dev the Raj Guru, who inspired Hari Singh. Swami Sant Dev and Ram Chandra Kak did not see eye to eye with each other.)

Though fanaticism has still survived in the land there are also possibilities of Kashmir turning red in the near future. It is becoming explosive day by day.

The U.N.O. has made Kashmir into gun-powder magazine which may burst any moment. The longer a fair solution is delayed the worse it is, not only for Kashmir but for the whole world. The findings of the Security Council during the last twelve years have repeatedly reported a failure.

Prime Ministers during Hari Singh's reign :—

1. Sir Albion Bannerjee —he sent mulkis for foreign trainings. "Kashmiris are hewers of wood, drawers of water and tillers of land."
2. Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield* —he instigated Hindu-Muslim tension.
3. Raja Hari Krishen Kaul. —he saved Hari Singh.
4. Col. E. J. D Colvin —Gilgit was his problem.
5. Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar —he was an iron man.
6. Sir B. N. Rao —he dreamed of Kashmir turning into Paradise.
7. Sir K. N. Haksar —he was 'old wine put in new bottle'.

* Sir Barjor Dalal also officiated fore some time.

8.	Sir Maharaj Singh	—he was a sportsman but non-serious.
9.	R. C. Kak	—he was more loyal than the king.
10.	Janak Singh	—the state was over run.
11.	R. L. Batra	—he organised R. S. S.
12.	Mehar Chand Mahajan	—he marched to put down revolt in Poonch with wooden sticks.
13.	S. M. Abdullah	—he bargained.
14.	Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad	—opportunist and realist in action.



KARAN SINGH

Shree Maharaja Karan Singh Ji was born in the city of Cannes (South of France) on 9th March 1931. The Maharaja received most of his primary education at home, although he attended the Presentation Convent College in Srinagar for two seasons. In 1942, at the age of 11, he was sent to the Doon School, Dehra Dun. He was perhaps the first heir-apparent to go to a public school in India. He studied there for three years and in 1945, at the age of only 14, he appeared for the Senior Cambridge Examination which he passed in the first grade and in 1947 passed the Intermediate Examination of the Allahabad University as a private candidate. He graduated from J. & K. University in 1951, again as a private candidate passed M.A. from Delhi University in 1957. He was sent to New York for medical treatment at the beginning of 1948 and he returned to India after a year. On June 20, 1949 he took over as Regent of the State. He was married in Bombay to Princess Yasho Rajya Lakshmi, grand-daughter of His Highness Maharaja Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur, Rana of Nepal. He has a daughter from her.

The State Assembly unanimously elected him as the first Sadar-i-Riyasat on 14th November 1952. He assumed office on 17th when a salute of 21 guns was given to him. The rejoicings broke all previous records, the occasion being 'Magna Carta' for the people of Kashmir. The new flag and the new emblem were also publicly adoped on this day under Indo-Kashmir agreement of 1952. He was re-elected Sadar-i-Riyasat on November 6, 1957 and functioned also as Chancellor of J. & K. University.

Karan Singh Ji is fond of Indian Classical music, tennis and chess. He is a prolific reader and his favourite subjects are political science and philosophy.

The people of Jammu led by Praja Parished launched a satyagraha movement immediately after the above decisions were implemented which spread

throughout the Province. There was a mob violence also on various occasions and at various places which resulted in firing. The agitation demonstrated that the people of Jammu were not with the people of Kashmir, in spite of India's common link. The movement received momentum when later on Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and Ram Rajya Parishad supported it. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, President Jan Sangh entered the State without obtaining a permit. He was taken into custody on the border and removed to a villa in Nishat Bagh (Kashmir) where he died as a detenu. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru at last made an appeal for the withdrawal of the agitation but the wrong was already done. The movement was however, formally withdrawn in July 1953.

It is many a local grievance which led to the agitation. The Dogra pride had been stirred up. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had repeatedly referred to Jammu massacre of 1947 in his public speeches. Durga Dass mounted to the same fame as underground leader as Mohi-ud-Din (Kara) had mounted during the "Quit Kashmir" movement in 1946.* Praja Parishad agitation did not go unnoticed in Kashmir where for the first time since 1947 pro-Pakistan slogans were publicly raised. A fresh chapter was opened in the history of Kashmir when on August 8, Sadar-i-Riyasat dismissed Sh. Mohammad Abdullah and appointed Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad as Prime Minister who took over on August 9.** Of late Sh. Mohammad Abdullah who was mentally confused all along was planning to drift away from India subtly to carve out an Independent State of Kashmir with or without Jammu. While arguing the case privately or publicly Sh. Mohammad Abdullah desired complete internal autonomy for the State which others interpreted as

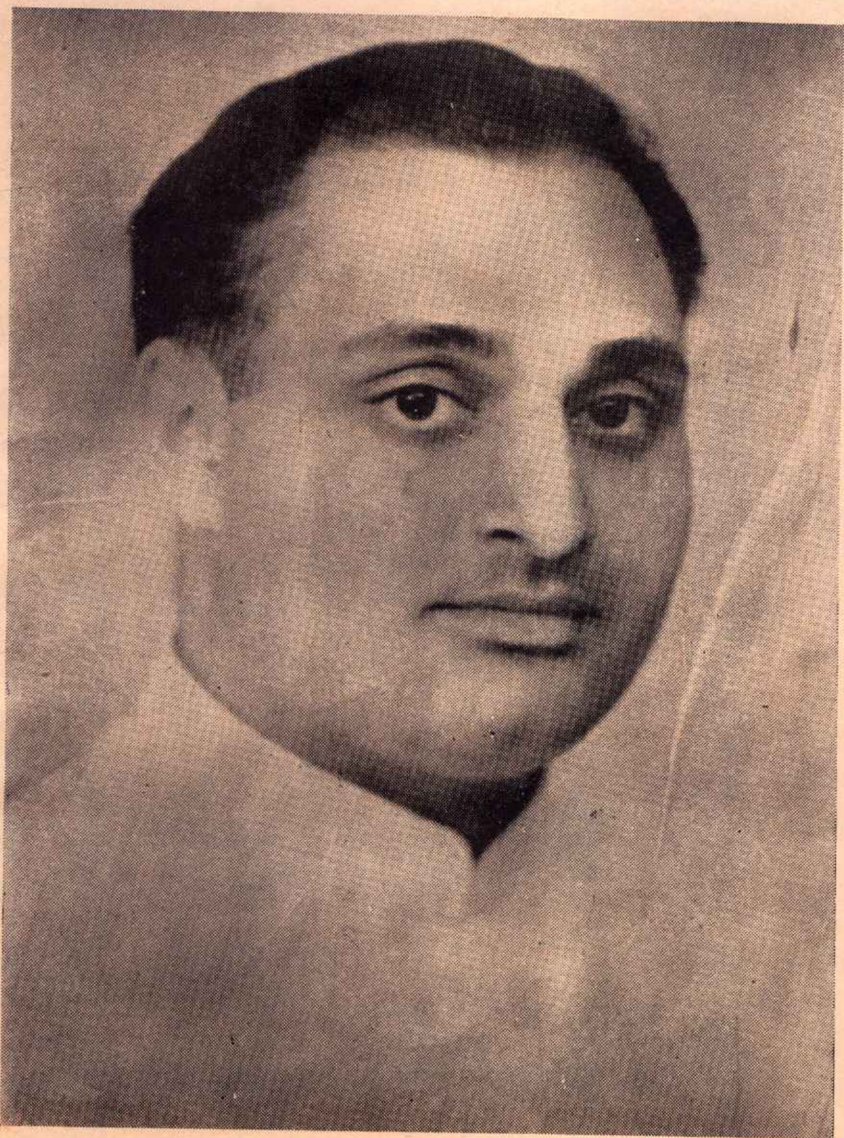
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* Just as Kashmir Movement made Sher-i-Kashmir of S. M. Abdullah Parished agitation also made Sher-i-Dogar of Prem Nath Dogra.

** The new cabinet consisted of :—

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
2. G. M. Sadiq.
3. Mir Qasim.
4. Shyam Lal Saraf.
5. Girdhari Lal Dogra.

Nos. 2, 3 and 5 inclined towards Communism.



Lt. General H. H. Maharaja Dr. Karan Singh

independence. This created a rift in the Cabinet as well as in the National Conference High Command. There was a stir in the Valley but it was soon overcome.* Bakhshi Government at once announced many salutary reforms such as abolition of 40-year-old mujwaza (compulsory levy) reduction in the price of shali, free education upto post-graduate standard, reduction in Abiana, reorganisation of Government services, abolition of customs duty from 1954, extension of co-operative credits, appointment of Public Services Commission etc. The new Government also ratified Indo-Kashmir Agreement of 1951 after it was unanimously voted by the Constituent Assembly on February 6, 1954 as part of the Constitution still on the anvil. It was a bold step since the Kashmir problem had not yet been solved through the good offices of United Nations Organisation. What followed from this was (a) financial integration with India ; (b) internal autonomy ; (c) amendment of State Subjects' Definition of 1927 entitling every one to become a State subject after ten years of continuous residence in the State ; (d) formal transfer of ceded and centrally administered subjects to India.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was born in a poor family at Nawa·Kadal. His father was a petty tailor and his mother an 'aya'. Bakhshi went to School but could not cross Matriculation bar. In his early age he accepted a teachers job in the frontier illaqa and became a Christian also for some time. He struggled hard with many jobs and finally plunged into politics in 1931 under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah whom he accepted as Sixth eeman. Luck favoured him through and through.

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* Immediately after his dismissal Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was put under arrest and removed to Udhampur. Later on he was taken to Kud. As a detenu he received all facilities from the Government and was well looked after.

It was revealed some time in January 1955 that the plan to dismiss Abdullah was matured immediately after the withdrawal of Praja Parishad agitation, that is to say, months before his arrest. This revelation is significant. He was being closely watched since he told an American journalist in 1949 that he would not rule out Independence for Kashmir and later in 1952 condemned India's policy vis-a-vis Kashmir in a public speech at Ranbirsingh Pura.

Bakhshi diagnosed the disease which was eating into the vitals of the society like a cancer. The disease was scarcity and high price of food stuffs, small pays, growing taxes, costly education, debts, mujwaza and what not. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah probably wanted to use mass discontent as a trump card in favour of independence.* To say he was blind to this is to do him injustice.** Bakhshi turned the corner. But armies of India and Pakistan are still facing each other across the Cease fire Line as they have been since 1948. Kashmir is the apple of discord. What is coming ahead baffles even surmise. And yet it is no bed of roses for Bakhshi so long as Abdullah is under detention.[1]

In spite of huge economic and educational projects undertaken by Bakhshi Government the revenue of the State mounted to Rs. 5.5 crores for 1954-55 turning the deficit of 34 lakhs into surplus by fiscal integration with the Government of India which extended a grant of Rs. 250/- lakhs to the State. Since 1947 when the

* Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah suggested (a) to make the valley of Kashmir a fully autonomous unit—India and Pakistan jointly taking over defence, foreign affairs and communications ; (b) India and Pakistan to guarantee the independence of Kashmir; (c) an over-all plebiscite to be held under the supervision of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Soviet Russia and China; (d) free and fair plebiscite to be conducted under supervision of members of the Security Council. It suggested a change in his own stand as well.

** It may be that Abdullah had signed the accession deed in hot haste. As days rolled by and as realities stared him in face he gave indications of a waverer. He was on the horns of a dilemma. Sometimes he was thinking aloud. During this internal conflict Mirza Afzal Beg was his conscience keeper. Abdullah did once say from a public platform "I will not sell you. Time is coming when you may have to forego luxuries of a square-meal but I shall not beg or borrow from a party which will exploit us."

1. It was a political Coup-de-tat which brought Bakhshi to power. Simultaneously with the arrest of Abdullah all his alleged supporters were rounded up. The action taken by Sadar-i-Riyasat was later on ratified by the Constituent Assembly. According to unofficial reports, highly exaggerated, about 1,200 to 1,500 persons were killed following the coup but according to the official reports there were only 36 deaths. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had lost confidence of his cabinet of which he was Prime Minister, not of the House of which he was leader. Sadar-i-Riyasat's action was based on a law that was subsequently recognised by the Constitution. Practical politics warranted this course only under the circumstances.

Simultaneously sprang into prominence a near relation of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad—Abdur Rashid—who became a de-facto controller of the political situation.

State acceded to India the total loan obtained from India amounted to 8 crores and 63 lakhs.[1] This was necessary to adjust the reduced revenue of the State to increased demands. Over and above this there came a huge aid also and yet the economic distress mounted up. The leadership was tried and it was found wanting. A University Degree is not necessarily the key to success. Bakhshi apparently proved a greater success than Abdullah.* Even a backward district like Ladakh received a fair deal and her representative was taken into the cabinct.

A high altitude cosmic rays research observatory was formally inaugurated on April 4, 1954 at Gulmarg (9,000 ft. hight) under the joint auspices of the Univesities of Kashmir and Aligarh thus reviving the ancient intellectual integration between India and Kashmir.

A wire ropeway upto Khilanmarg has been suggested which, apart from serving the research station, will also open up the entire area and make it an attractive centre for tourists and for winter sports and training for the defence forces.

The advantage of a high altitude station was that the number of cosmic ray events of different types increased rapidly as we rose higher in the atmosphere and it, therefore, became possible to study the newer events in a reasonable length of time. Some phenomena

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1\.

Loan	...	...	...	Rs. 8,63,05.000
Aid	...	..	...	,, 6,33,58,000
Jammu Pathankot Raod		...	...	,, 3,24,00,000
Development Schemes		...	...	,, 2,33,80,000
Total	..	...	...	,, 20,54,43,000

The loan rose to Rs. 9,61,05,000 upto 1955. It was Rs. 5,93,55,000 during Abdullah ragime.

*The National Conference is the ruling party in the State. Abdullah had continued to be its Chief. After his fall Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad stepped into his place as the leader of the nation. Apart from politics, hot temper and haughtinass worked against Abdullah. The manner in which he treated R. C. Kak and compelled Hari Singh, to voluntary exilement make sad episodes not worthy of one who made history. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru who would make many a trip to Kashmir every year did not come even once since May 1953 to 1957. Why? Abdullah shook his confidence. Nehru kept his word given in the shake hand at Lal Chowk when the Indian Army took up the defence in 1947.

were only found in the uppermost layers of the atmosphere, and those could only be studied with the use of balloon-borne equipment.

Other phenomena could only be studied by the use of heavier and more elaborate precision apparatus and a high altitude station was essential for such work so that rare events could be recorded for sufficiently long periods to enable quantitative conclusions to be drawn.

After discussing the merits and demerits of the various sites, the Tangmarg-Gulmarg-Khilanmarg-Apharwat group was found quite suitable from the point of view of location. Two proposals are in hand :

(1) A high altitude cosmic ray research station should be established at Khilanmarg, provided it can be connected by ropeway with Gulmarg. The station would provide basic facilities for cosmic ray workers from all parts of India to carry out their experiments. It would also provide limited facilities to worker in other branches of science, such as Physiology and astrophysics;

(2) A firm of experts should be asked to make a preliminary survey and cost estimates of connecting Gulmarg with Khilanmarg; Gulmarg with Tangmarg and Khilanmarg with Apharwat by wire ropeway, so designed as to form a continuous connection when all links were completed.

Jammu turned en fete during the four days visit of President of India in April 1954 who was greeted with nation building projects such as Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Boulevard round the Tawi, widened old old Bhabra bazar, Gandhi Bhawan etc. His first official visit to Srinagar in 1950 had provided a similar fillip to Kashmir. These visits are unlike the visits of former British Viceroys. Previously the host used to be the Maharaja. Now the hosts are people. The previous hospitality laid greater stress on catering, shikar and presents. Jammu had never known such an exhibition

before. Replying to an address of welcome presented by the Jammu Municipality the President of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said that the history and mutual understanding had cemented the ancient ties between Kashmir and India to such an extent that any break in the relationship was inconceivable.

India all along made it clear that she would abide by plebiscite she had voluntarily offered, provided:—(a) The lawful administration of the State was recognized. (b) Pakistan withdrew her forces from occupied part of the State. (c) Refugees returned to homes and were rehabilitated. (d) Normal conditions prevailed. (e) Plebiscite administrator nominated by U. N. O. was appointed by the legal government of the State. (f) Aggression by Pakistan was admitted. Since no final agreement was reached between India and Pakistan on these issues and since American Military Aid to Pakistan changed the entire context India backed out of her pledge under force of circumstances that the need for a plebiscite did no longer exist. Development projects in the meanwhile had already carried the State forward. There are other factors also which lowered Abdullah's prestige in public eye—hot temper, lust for power and wrong company. A few Kashmiri Pandit adventurers in politics who exploited the situation in 1946 for their own ends were pushed into power by him*. Abdullah of 1953 was a changed man from Abdullah of 1946, politically as well as mentally. And when he was arrested, sinners at once changed sides and he was left in wilderness. Muslims for whom he essentially toiled had turned backs against him.

The customs barrier between India and the State was removed from April 13 giving way to octroi duty chargeable on weight. Goods coming from abroad entered in the State under bond. It yielded a revenue of over one crore of rupees. This included the amount payable from various departments in State account. The Government of India made this loss good having

*They were Zutshi, Aima, Raina, Watt, Shangloo, Peshin, Dhar, Saraf, Kilam, Bundhu, etc, etc.

already included it in the 250 lakhs grant. This gave a great relief to the people after a period of about 18 years.

Karan Singh's birth abroad was simultaneously followed by popular uproar at home. As he grew up he saw the throne shaking. But he is unlike his father. He has no vice. He has adjusted himself to the changed environment. Though he has lost all claim to hereditary rule he has not lost all chances of a bright career.

The revenues of the State have exceeded five crores. India to which Kashmir has acceded is giving enormous aid in cash and kind which has brought about a great change in the economic condition of the people.

Both Abdullah and Bakhshi received aid. During Abdullah's time much of it did not reach masses. But during Bakhshi's time the quantity of aid was greater and a larger percentage did reach the masses through labour etc. If the total aid in the shape of loan or free gift had been well utilized it would have brought about a great change in the country. The expenditure was not scrutinized. The plan was not whetted. As in India the first Five-Year Plan was completed with the close of 1955. About Rs. 1274.15 lakhs mostly contributed by India were spent which did some spade work in the development of the country. While money was freely circulating there grew up an organisation known as Plebiscite Front which demanded plebiscite in the State. It did not attract much notice, the ruling party being opposed to it. Only pro-Abdullah elements sponsored and fanned it. The greatest event of the year was the visit of Russin leaders—Bulganin and Khrushchev.* When

*"The trip to Kashmir is interesting to us because of the speciality of nature in Kashmir and the richness of the original culture of her people. The art of her folk craftsmen and artisans have brought world fame to Kashmir."

"The trip to Kashmir is also interesting to us, representatives of the Soviet people, because Kashmir lies close to our country. We have in the past always had trade relations with Kashmir."

"We would like to utilize our visit to Kashmir for getting acquainted with the life of the people of Kashmir, with their rich original culture and their achievements." —Bulganin.

"It is well-known that a change of boundaries is always painful and does not take Place without violence and bloodshed. The question of Kashmir as one of the states of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir. This is the people's own affair." —Khrushchev.

they stated that Kashmir was a part of India and "the present boundary need not be altered" the so-called Plebiscite Front received a great set-back and the people continued hoping against hope.

Like India Kashmir also stepped into the new year heralding the Second Five-Year Plan with an ambitious project of Rs. 51 crores and 27 lakhs mainly contributed by India. The emphasis was laid mostly on education, agriculture and industry. Two bridges—one at Sonwar and the other at Maisuma, raised the figure of already seven bridges to nine in the city.

Municipal elections under the new Constitution were conducted both at Srinagar and at Jammu after a period of about 17 years. A keen contest was noticed but the ruling party finally won. These elections were earlier preceded by Town Area elections in rural areas where also keen contest was noticed.

Again, all speculations were laid at rest when Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Miniser of India, declared that no useful purpose would be served by holding a plebiscite in Kashmir, since Pakistan had accepted military aid from America and become a party to SEATO and Baghdad Pacts and that she was not prepared to accept any plea advanced by India whether within United Nations Organisation or without it. Not only this Nehru also stated subsequenly that Chitral, Hunza, Nagar, Punial and Yasin were still part of the State. This silenced the people inside though it caused some flutter outside. The issue is still hanging until the other party also closes the chapter.

With the growing of Schools and Colleges in the State and subsequently spread of education under an indigenous University the State became rejuvenated culturally. Poetry, drama, music, research, literature, dance and what not received a great impetus. Old order changed. Broadcasting continued to attract classes as well as masses from both sexes. With the introduction of broadcasting in 1947-1948 illiterate girls were prevailed upon to come and sing and now

educated girls come forward to offer their co-operation. Similar is the case with sport. Olympic games became popular day by day.

The city today is immensely changed—many roads widened, new houses erected and congestion mostly removed. Money being abundant compensation is paid several times the actual cost. People are heard whispering B.B.C. meaning Bakhshi Brothers Corporation whose slogan is—make hay while the sun shines. People are also heard talking against imported rice which sells at 25 nP. per seer and salt because they come from India. The old economics of Kashmir devolved on 'Shali, Shawl, Shalgam' and cheap rice should have revolutionised the entire market but no, the shoe is on the other leg. It is also a trait of Kashmiri character to find fault with those who are in power. Foreign yoke for over 600 years has developed many vices in the whole race. It is Abdullah who projected Kashmir to India. Bakhshi only cemented integration in the interest of both Kashmir and India. And Bakhshi did no wrong to Muslims in any walk of life—services trade, labour, art and what not. If some people call him a traitor who pushed out his leader they are unfair. Sometimes the leader and the follower can also differ on a vital issue.

India did not give only aid and loan to Kashmir but did all that was possible to promote the economic condition of the people. Indians were pushed to Kashmir as visitors, official conferences were scheduled in Kashmir—even a special sitting of the Supreme Court was held at Srinagar and surveys were conducted. All this helped to build up the economy of the country. Some offices like the Information Centre and Mineral Survey were opened in the State to further cement the accession. The policy of India was to feed the people, educate them rightly, raise their moral and material standard and possibly not to colonise them. Contrary to the expectation this policy did not produce the desired effect. Love for India is wanting in many a heart. The non-Muslims submitted to the inevitable all along

since the raid. The secular policy of India was on trial in Kashmir. Viewed from all aspects Kashmir stands as a unique instance which has baffled statesmen and politicians and defies all approaches to a fair solution. It should be no job of a historian to predict coming events. An armed conflict between India and Pakistan to decide the Kashmir Issue cannot be ruled out unless a miracle happens which may bring about the settlement.

August 9 was being observed as a jubilation day since 1953 by pro-Abdullah element. But this year the National Conference itself observed it as the deliverance day. There was illumination throughout.

September 9, 1956, will go down in history as a landmark day. On this morning the first vehicle passed through the new tunnel near about lower Munda thus linking Kashmir with India. The work on this tunnel was started in 1953 by German Engineers. The tunnel is one of the six longest tunnels of the world. It has cost over Rupees three crores. The tube about 1½ mile long (8,120 ft.), 18 ft. high and 14 feet wide has been bored at a height of 7,000 feet. It has shortened distance between Srinagar and Pathankot by about 20 miles and saved time by about two hours. Before this Banihal used to remain closed to traffic from December to April. Now it remains open throughout the year. The second tube which is also under construction is expected to be completed by now. Such a tunnel was considered an impossibility before—credit for this achievement goes to India which sponsored the scheme and German Engineers who accomplished the fact at minimum cost and in shortest possible time. The winter immediately following witnessed through traffic for the first time in history.

The month of September 1956 was celebrated as 'Festival of Kashmir' throughout the province. It was indeed a cultural, lingual and social gala month. Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Bhadarwahi life was illustrated through drama, dance, poetry, sport and music.

Politically it diverted the attention of the people from growing prices. Every item of programme was over shadowed by fun and frivolity where sobriety had no entrance. At any rate the idea was to attract visitors and provide recreation on a larger scale. Government spent Rs. 2,40,000/-on this.

For the first time since the raids, a draft constitution for the State was placed before the Constituent Assembly on September 10th at Srinagar providing (a) elective office of Sadar-i-Riyasat subject to approval by the President of India (b) two houses—one consisting of 100 members (25 reserved for occupied area) and the other of 36 members, 1/3 to return after three years—11 each for Jammu and Kashmir, 8 returned by teachers and Town Area Constituencies and 6 nominated by Sadar-i-Riyasat (c) adult franchise minimum age 21 years (d) Auditor-General, Public Services Commission, Advocate-General, Independent High Court of Judicature, (e) Financial Integration (f) Urdu as State language while Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Bhaderwahi as regional languages. During the same session Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad announced a dearness allowance for State employees whose pay ranged from Rs. 30/to Rs. 300/- p.m. with retrospective effect from April involving an annual expenditure of about sixty lakhs of rupees. This provided relief to over 40,000 people.

A jeepable road to Leh via Kargil and electrification of the town by utilizing the waters of the Indus are under way.* The monasteries are likely to receive cash grants equal to rent to enable land reforms to be extended to Ladakh as well. The prohibition of polyandry there is in itself a great social reform. Air service was established on Septmber 28, 1955.

1,63,300 maunds of wheat, 4,91,522 maunds of rice and 3,58,884 maunds of paddy were imported during one year. 8,000 acres of dry land were brought under paddy cultivation through lift irrigation near Sangam. 15,000 maunds of sulphate ammonia were

*The road has been thrown open.

distributed among the farmers. Educational institutions rose to 1,820 and expenditure thereon to 70.31 lakhs. Mobile schools function for Gujjars and Bakarwals. Expenditure on health has gone up by 75 per cent. Carpet, namda, tweed, khadi received great fillip. Paper and cardboard, paints and chemicals, bamboo furniture and tanning industries etc. are being organised on a large scale.

About 19 lakh kanals stand transferred among two lakh tillers. Besides 13 lakh kanals belonging to Government are being distributed among refugees and landless tillers. Co-operative debts amounting to over 35 lakhs were remitted. The rural debt has come down from about two crores to less than a crore. In the Second Five-Year Plan Rs. 12 crores were earmarked for the Kandi Canal Scheme in Jammu which remained neglected so for.

Maisuma Bridge was named Badshah Bridge and its opening ceremony was performed on 24th October 1956, by Sadar-i-Riyasat Shri Karan Singh. The bridge is 285 feet long and 40 feet wide and has cost Rs. 15,66,000.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg and his eight colleagues who were released last week walked out of the Constituent Assembly where draft constitution bill was under discussion on the directive of the Plebiscite Front which is still breathing. The Constitution was unanimously passed on 17th November. Out of 10 members of the Plebiscite Front one joined the National Conference (Mr.Abdul Gani Goni form Doda district). The members (66 out of 75) put their seal on the Constitution on 19th November. There was State-wide jubilation and prayers were offered at the 1931 Martyrs Grave-Yard. Never was such an illumination seen before. If R. C. Kak could earlier snatch away Mian Ahmed Yar Khan from the National Conference, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad also could snatch away Mr. Abdul Gani Goni from the Plebiscite Front as he did Mr. Durga Das from the Praja Parishad a short

while before. People have a price which power and money can bid for.

22nd December (1956) was a jubilation day for the State. Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, opened the Jawahar Tunnel in Banihal for Public traffic. Thousands had flocked to the place to witness the great engineering feat of the modern age. Kashmir's physical accession with India was cemented this day.

25th January (1957) took the State nine years back when the fresh resolution of the Security Council passed on 24th was announced reiterating that the final disposition of the State would be made through free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices in continuation of its previous resolution dated April 21, 1948 ; June 3, 1948; March 14, 1950 and March 30, 1951. Wide-spread protests followed throughout India. According to Government of India the accession was completed in 1947 and Pakistan had committed aggression in Kashmir and unless these two basic facts were accepted there could be no further discussion. The Security Council passed another resolution on February 21, sponsored by four nations, requesting Mr. Gunnar Jarring of Sweden to examine any proposals which would contribute towards settlement of dispute having regard to all its previous resolutions and report back not later than April 15. The proposal for the use of U. N. force and demilitarisation prior to plebiscite was turned down by Russia.

While people watched the movement of Mr. Gunnar Jarring across the border during the month of March (1957) they had a busy time on this side of the border where second general election since 1947 was due. National Conference, Praja Parishad, Praja Socialist Party and independent were in the field. Out of 75 seats election for 5 and 2 was held in the last week of May due to snows in Doda and Ladakh districts. Kashmir Province mostly featured with unopposed returns and Jammu with keen contest. While about 75 per cent votes were polled in Jammu hardly

about 50 per cent were polled in Kashmir. The results were National Conference 61+7, Praja Parishad 5, Independents 1, Harijan Mandal 1. The leader of Parja Parishad lost in south Jammu and Speaker of the Assembly, a candidate of National Conference, in Khanayar Nawa kadal Constituency.

Jarring report was out before the end of April. Two main points featured in the Report. He stated that if plebiscite were at all held grave problems might arise. "I could not fail to take notice of the concern expressed in connection with changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole Kashmir question together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia". This came under Security Council resolution on January 5, 1949. To resolve differences between India and Pakistan under Security Council resolution of August 13, 1948, arbitration was suggested which was accepted by the later and rejected by the former. The report was again a failure.

Rains which usually end in March continued upto end of May which hit hard local economy. Fruit, oil-seeds, rice, maize, wheat crops were adversely affected. The rains had forty times greater radio active count than that due to cosmic ray action. Introduction of decimal coinage into the country with effect from April in the same year and the reception given to new coins brought Kashmir still nearer to India fiscally also.

Results of election to the Legislative Council consisting of 36 members held on 26th June and subsequently were as under :—

(a) Eight by—election; one each by the constituencies of local authorities and teachers in Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) Two by each two member constituencies of Panchayats of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) Twenty-two seats—eleven for Jammu and eleven for Kashmir elected by J. & K. Assembly.

(d) Six nominated by Sadar-i-Riyasat.

Kashmir was not only seat of learning but Centre of Philosophy in times of yore. Shaiva philosophy has had its birth here. It was in fitness of things that the All-India Philosophical Congress chose to hold its 32nd Session in Srinagar on June 16. Shri Karan Singh told the Congress to interpret fundamental truths taught by religions as the world was faced with danger that progress of science created. Dr. G. P. Malalassakera of Ceylon, President World Buddhist Federation who presided over the session, stated that Panch Sheela constituted a challenge from Asia to the world. Already 25 countries constituting 3/5ths of the world's population had accepted these five principles of co-existence, enunciated by the Buddha, 2,500 years ago and which Kashmir Bhikhshus propounded elsewhere.

The elections to both houses were complete by the middle of July. Some contests such as teachers' constituencies revealed a trend towards Leftism. Out of the total strength of 111 members at least 12 could be safely counted as Leftists. Then came the election of the leader and the formation of the cabinet. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was unanimously elected leader. All National Conference nominees to the Legislative Council were elected. Among the six nominations by Sadar-i-Riyasat, while backward classes received representation and defeated ex-Speaker found accommodation, art and literature were neglected. The two houses met on July 26 when the cabinet was also announced. From the cabinet formed after the raids only two ministers survived. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad himself and Shyam Lal Saraf. Many old comrades were dropped and new blood introduced. The Assembly had for the first time two opposition groups—one led by Praja Parished and the other by the Communits Block who formed progressive wing within the National Conference. G. M. Sadiq was associated with the freedom struggle from the beginning and the cabinet from 1947.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's 1957 Cabinet consisted of :—

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
2. Shyam Lal Saraf.
3. Dina Nath Mahajan.
4. Ghulam Mohammad Rajpuri.
5. Shams-ud-Din.
6. Kotwal Chuni Lal.
7. Vacant.*

Plus six ministers of State—a team unparalleled in local annals.

The two Houses were addressed by Sadar-i-Riyasat on 27th July. The address outlined the new Cabinet's policy which assured still greater integration with India. But it did not augur all well because of internal faction, between Leftists and Rightists so much so that six of the former tendered resignation from the governing body of the National Conference. This organisation was adulterated by mixing up elements that opposed it before 1947 such as a former Minister, a former I. G., Police, a former communal leader, an agent of former administration and so on. Two more resignations from the governing body and country-wide resignations from the organization followed which created widespread flutter and headed for a trouble. Growing high prices, corruption and personality cult gave support to the Leftists' bid for an overhaul.

1957 Budget of the State rose to Rs. 765.70 lakhs with the imposition of a few taxes. The claim of the budget being surplus was rejected by critics who discovered a deficit of Rs. 2 crores.

The flood in August crossed the highest recorded level of 1950. While it caused immense loss to the rural area, the city was saved by raised bunds and digging and widening of canals. Loss of property was much, particularly in Southern Kashmir and loss of life also no small. 3,16,000 kanals of land were flooded.

* Mr. Asad-ullah Mir was appointed a Minister later.

About 68 persons were killed in the whole State mostly in Jammu. The total loss could be roughly estimated at Rs. 250 lakhs. Rivers Chenab and Tawi alone swept aways about 600 heads of cattle and devastated about a 100 villages, while river Jhelum not less than 500. 19 small bridges or culverts and 20 canals were affected involving a loss of about sixty and twenty-five lakhs respectively. 41,000 acres of land were submerged. In absence of exact records of previous floods this year's flood would be considered as unprecedented.

All Leftists who either resigned from office or governing body of the National Conference brought into existence a new political party called "Democratic National Conference". The parent body thus broke into three parts—Abdullah group, Bakhshi group and Sadiq group since 1947 which was not a happy sign for future. As assessed on September 9 the Leftists commanded 14 members in the Assembly and 2 in the Council.

Bomb explosions created a grave situation in the State since June. The one which exploded in Maisuma on September 8 killed two persons. It was put in a mosque to give it a communal colour. It is possible that Pakistan may be behind this. It is also possible that local workers may be behind this just to blackmail India. The guess cannot be ruled out that explosions may have been organized both to defer as well as to precipitate the impending release of S. M. Abdullah. Some parties wanted it and some did not. There were 38 explosions killing six persons in all (13 in Kashmir and 25 in Jammu).

September 11 was a day of joy. Jawahar Lal Nehru visited Srinagar after about 4½ years. The peoples' welcome was unprecedented. He reiterated India's latest stand on Kashmir and assured of his full moral support to Bakhshi which put Abdulla's release again in cold storage and discouraged dissident group from the National Conference.

The months of October, November and December

broke the lull by India sponsored food discussions, trial of enemy agents (16 in number) in connection with bomb explosion, re-election of Shri Yuvraj Karan Singh as Sadar-i-Riyasat for the second term and fillip to Second Five-Year Plan. Shortage of food due to floods told on the economics of the State. Community Development Projects were put to severe test and strain to tide over the gap.

The final blasting of the second tube of Jawahar tunnel at Banihal was completed on 19th October. The same day the first two day convention organized by National Conference Democratic Front was held at Srinagar. The Front reiterated Kashmir's accession with India and placed its own programme before the country.

For the first time during the last 50 years or so Kashmir Valley witnessed its first snowfall on 20th October. The year 1957 was ominous—there were unprecedented rains in spring, there was unprecedented flood in summer and there was early snowfall in autumn. Chinar leaves had not yet turned red. They were still green. Famine stared in the face. Late sowing of seed, flood when crops were in bloom and early snow when harvesting was on crippled all grain crops. If India were not at the back as she has been hitherto there would have been disease, death and devastation unknown in past history. About 5 ft. snowfall over the Banihal pass suspended life-line for a few days. Local food stocks being near exhaustion did present a grave situation so much so that the price of a khirwar of rice rose to about Rs. 150/-. But no death by starvation came to notice. This year's responsibility of feeding the entire population roughly estimated at about 18 lakhs in Kashmir Province devolved on India which rushed supplies in season and out of season. The State received a food subsidy amounting to Rs. 4,55,70,862 between 1948 to 1956.

In Chrar-i-Sharif bye-election contest and Town Area elections both National Conference and Democratic National Conference set up its own candidates. Severe

skirmishes were reported from Badgam, Sopore and Srinagar in November. Beating at Lal chowk was personally witnessed. Leaders of the Democratic National Conference demanded President's rule in the State. Lawlessness and resentment against the ruling party was manifest.

Budget increased by five times from the initial outlay of Rs. 38.49 lakhs and it now equals pre-partition budget. Food deficit grew from more to more inspite of 25 per cent increase in food production. Smuggling across the border was also a reason.

Ten years ago the State had only 2.5 miles of roads per 100 sq. miles. During the period over 500 miles of new roads were constructed, 482 bridges built and about 1,500 miles of roads are in hand to bring towns and villages closer to one another.

For Community Development Projects this year the villagers contributed Rs. 50 lakhs against the Government subsidy of Rs. 87 lakhs. There are 1,000 Panchayats and the figure is rising to 5,000.

Community Centres in the Second Five-Year Plan —The Sindh Project has attained a generating capacity of 10,000 k.w. and the country is still grievously short of electric power which has hampered industrialisation. During the last ten years the State has received a total assistance of Rs. 18 crores most of which was consumed by food and transport.

The year 1958 opened with a sensation. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah was released from detention in Kud Sub-jail four days earlier to Dr. Frank Graham's visit to the Indian sub-continent as representative of the Security Council. S. M. Abdullah remained in detention for fifty-three months less by one day. After his release he stated that the real solution of the Kashmir question lay with the people who were the final arbiters. He was given a hero's welcome enroute to Srinagar on 12th January. In his address at Hazaratbal on the following day he stated that accession was never finalized and

ratification by the people was still due. Kashmir had temporarily acceded to India in defence, foreign affairs and communications. He maintained that one of the solutions was Independence for the valley guaranteed by United Nations and he would not mind Ladakh and Jammu going to India. Procession taken out on 26th January under Bakhshi's leadership was a reply to 12th January ovation given to Abdullah. If bodies were on one side, hearts were on the other. Friday following Miraj-ul-Alam (2-12-1958) turned prayer day at Hazratbal into a miniature Kurballa when followers of Abdullah collided with the workers of the National Conference killing one and injuring dozens of people, even officials on duty for first aid were not spared. This resulted in police action who rounded up many a noted person. A case was started against 86 persons and the trial was conducted in Central Jail.

For the first time since 1947 the annual session of the National Conference was held in Jammu from 14th to 16th March under the Presidentship of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Among other resolutions one endorsed Kashmir's accession with India as convened under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and demanded vacation of aggression by Pakistan.

The period 1957 to 1958 following unprecedented flood gave big economic surprises. Not only food grains were imported in abundance, but even things like fodder for animals, milk and its derivatives, straw made articles and what not for which Kashmir had never felt want found their way in. Had grass also disappeared from the grounds and leaves from the trees poses a question for the historian ? September flood and early October snow wrought untold havoc. People from the rural area were seen begging in the streets of Srinagar in spite of First Five-Year Plan that was over and Second Five-Year Plan that was on.

While Dr. Frank Graham's report created a political flutter in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan Kashmir went ahead with spring festival. Dr. Graham

had proposed among other things that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet under auspices of U. N. Representative and that after withdrawal of Pakistan forces from 'Azad Kashmir' area U. N. forces be stationed on Pakistan border and India to withdraw her military forces from Kashmir which was not accepable to India at all. The absence of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad from Hazratbal on 21 February (Miraj-ul-Alam) and I'd Gah on the same day two months later gave wind to the impression that Abdullah was the de-facto leader.

Prices of commodities in the second decade and fifth decade :—

Article	II Decade	V Decade
Meat	-/4/- seer	3/- seer
Milk	-/1/- ,,	-/12/- seer
Oil	-/4/- ,,	2/8/- ,,
Ghee	-/12/- ,,	5/8/- ,,
Eggs	-/-/3 ,,	-/2/6 each
Fuel (willow)	7 mds. per rupee	1/12/- per md.

Vegetables six times, suger five times, timber 12 times, rice twenty times and so on. There was increase in income also but not to the same extent and it varied from one social group to another. The middle class split into two flanks—extreme riches and extreme poverty. A new aristocracy was born before which the old aristocracy paled into insignificance.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was again arrested on the night of April 29 under Security Act and removed to Kud Jail. During his previous detention for about 53 months his maintenence as a special class prisoner cost nearly Rs. 1,70,000/- since his release on January 8 last Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was demanding plebiscite to which Security Council and the Republics of India and Pakistan were committed. No popular commotion followed his arrest as had taken place in 1953. It was not due to the fact that he had lost hold on people. Financial Integration of the State with India formally took place on 1st May when Audit and

Accounts were transferred to Auditor-General of India. Earlier a non-Kashmiri was appointed a High Court Judge by the President of India. As department after department dropped out and as Indians came in one by one to take over control the reaction among the people worsened. But the feeling did not express itself. While jeeps and cars moving freely were a reminder.

Jashne Kashmir started in 1956 was split up into two—Jashne Bahar and Jashne Khazan. Jashne Bahar started from 19th May and lasted till the first of the next month. High lights of this celebration were Youth rally, illumination, gymkhana, matches, mushaira, baby and flower shows, drama, dance, Nadim Day at Bandipore, Shami Shalmar, Haba Khatun Day at Pampore, River pageant, torch light, tattoo and Abu-ul-Kalam Azad Seminar. Industrial and agricultural exhibition which is usually held in August/September was also opened the same day to cater to all types of tourists from all corners of India. Total inflow of visitors ending May 1958 was registered at about twenty thousands which showed substantial increase over previous figures. All available accommodation being over full tents were pitched in Polo Ground, Gandhi Park and Hazuri Bagh which posed the problem of housing expansion.

Complaint was filed in the court in May 2 against Mirza Afzal Beg and twenty others including four Pakistani Intelligence officers under Section 121A and 120A of Ranbir Penal Code read with Rule of 32 J. & K. Security Rules charging them with conspiracy to overthrow the State government and to facilitate wrongful annexation of Kashmir by Pakistan. Trial started in Kud (a hill station on Srinagar—Jammu road) from 11th June and was later shifted. President of India promulgated "Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance 1958" inserting a subsection after Section 105 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898 regarding execution of certain processes issued

by courts in Jammu and Kashmir in the rest of India and vice versa.

Through the installed capacity of 6,000 k.w. from Sindh Valley Hydro Electric Project and bulk purchase of 3,000 k.w. from Joginder Nagar in Punjab, forty-three towns and villages in Jammu Province and eighteen towns and villages in Kashmir Valley were electrified under the development scheme.

The month of June was a month of great political excitement. Ch. Ghulam Abbas of "occupied Kashmir" had started Kashmir Liberation movement to cross cease fire line on 27th. But Pakistan did not approve of such a step. Forces on the Indian side of the cease fire were alert to meet any situation. When the zero hour approached batches of volunteers on the other side of the cease fire were stopped by Pakistan forces. Even the "occupied Kashmir" Government was against such a move. But it appeard an inspired move to awaken conscience of the world and to draw the attention of the Security Council to Graham Report for an early consideration thereof. Sixteen persons from "occupied Kashmir" violated the cease fire line and crossed into Jammu near Janghar on July 3. These persons were arrested and detained by the civil authorities. The movement gained no ground. Thirty-one bomb explosions were reported in the State between January and June 1958. This was an indication of under current feeling. Total explosions during 1957-58 mounted to 91 and 53 in 1958-59.

The sum of Rs. 77,000/-was earmarked for grant of allowances to dependents of 140 martyrs who had lost lives in the cause of States' freedom. A big fire broke out on the night of 19th August in Fateh Kadal. It was traders' locality and the loss was about rupees one lakh, involving twelve houses, police station and a saw mill—

Food subsidy received from India during 1957-58 was distributed as under :—

5,88,354	mds.	wheat	Kashmir
1,85,645	,,	maize	Kashmir
38,950	,,	flour	Kashmir
42,017	,,	rice	Kashmir
3,32,472	,,	wheat	Jummu
21,800	,,	wheat seed	Jummu
20,575	,,	maize	Jummu
5,000	,,	bajra	Kishtwar
6,013	,,	shali	Leh
1,361	,,	rice	Leh
1,565	,,	bajra	Leh
700	,,	grain	Kargil

As assessed in 1958 the food deficit of 3.6 million mds. a year was reduced by 8,00,000 mds. A rise of 11 per cent in the per capita income of the people, 25 per cent increase in literacy and growth in trade from 3.8 crores to 8.5 crores were noticed. Revenue which stood at Rs. 4.12 crores in 1950-51 went up to Rs. 11.54 crores in 1957-58. Before 1947 hardly 10 per cent girls were literate and in 1958 the percentage rose very high and they are taking part in every walk of life side by side with boys particularly in medicine, education etc. Development of cattle wealth and establishment of Goshalas were stressed at the first All-India Four-Day Gosamvardhan Seminar inaugurated by Sadar-i-Riyasat on 21th August. Acute shortage of cattle was not so much due to paucity of fodder as indiscriminate killing of cows and bulls in spite of prohibitory law on the Statute Book.

September-October is usually harvest time in Kashmir. The fact that Government fixed a target of 23 lakh maunds of grain [collection by voluntary effort at (a) Shali Rs. 16/-per khirwar and (b) Maize Rs. 14/- per khirwar at the village centre] makes it clear that the farmer also was going healtheir along with others. He has not to face Mujwaza, begar or Wad system. When Mujwaza was introduced during World War I the price paid for was Rs. 4/- at the Ghat.

Dispensaries in the State rose to 235 in 1958 as against 85 in 1947.

Arts and Crafts centres were started at Anantnag, Shopian, Bandipore, Doda, Kathua, Poonch and Leh at an annual expenditure of Rs. 3,70,000/-. Expenditure on administration rose from Rs. 24,32,000/- in 1947 to Rs. 48,36,000/- in 1957 as per detail below :—

Gazetted Officers rose from 512 to 1,325. Non-Gazetted from 14,176 to 22,196 and Menials from 10,820 to 14,135 (in personnel). There are very few parallels in local annals of this year's land revenue remission to the tune of rupees one crore and manure remission amounting to Rs. 12,00,000/-. Besides food imports amounted to about Rs. 4 crores. National Extension service for 1958-59 received a grant of Rs. 12,57,000 as loan and Rs. 14,97,000 as aid from the Central Government.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was also put on the list of accused in the Kashmir Conspiracy case on a supplementary complaint filed in the court of Special Magistrate trying the case under Section 121-A in which 24 persons already stand accused. Abdullah was produced before the court on 24th October at Jammu.

Sunwaar (low level ground) is a tract of land from Shalteng to Pattan and Sopore which in local annals is known as Kamraj (deficit area). This is being converted into Sonwaar (golden garden) for the first time in known history. The winter of 1958 saw mass concentration of energy employed in this conversion. This will go down as one of the mian achievements of the present Government—canals, huts, schools, dispensaries, Panchayat Garhs and what not where before scarcity and grim poverty stared the eye. It is here that Bakhshi broke the record of Lalitaditya. Of all the development projects undertaken in the First and Second Five-Year Plans Sonwaar was a model project in which local population offered willing co-operation to

authorities. Price paid for should be no consideration*

The western tube of Jawahar Tunnel was thrown open to Public traffic on 21th December. Heavy snow fall the same day frustrated for a while physical greetings from trucks and buses plying to and fro across the tunnel. This is yet another feat of people's will.

The year 1958 is coming to colse and the Second Five-Year Plan is still on. A shop in Ward No. 1 which could be obtained at Rs. 200 a year before partition has been auctioned for Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000. This is due to concentration of offices, business firms and settlement of non-Kashmiris in this area, not to mention visitors. Prices of land are on the increase and as one moves down the river prices also go down. The development of this ward received priority at the cost of other wards during Pathan, Sikh and Dogra rulers. The present government is adhering to the same policy with the result that the rest of the city continues to be neglected. Land prices in the city need be more or less uniform and this is possible when concentration is broken up and most of the offices as well as business firms diverted and evenly distributed. Inflation and growing population have failed to attract attention of the politician. Chatabal, Rainawari, area round Mal Khah, Idgah and Chandmari could as well cater to visitors. Why Sonwaar to Amirakadal only for all official as well as unofficial purposes. A person from Safa kadal going to Sopore comes to Amirakadal to catch his bus. The new year (1959) dawned with a fresh agrarian policy introducing joint co-operative farming in the State. January and February were one of the severest winters that history has known. In Northern areas there was a snow fall of about 9 feet. Food situation was worse in spite of bumper crop. Monthly ration not being adequate rice in the black market sold at about Rs. 5.00 per trak (5 seers 3 chataks). Entry of food grains into the city was already under ban. Even vegetables disappeared due to official

*The Success of the project is doubtful.

intervention. During this season road and air traffic came to standstill too often because of heavy snow. In 1958 there was plenty amidst shortage, but this year it was shortage amidst plenty. Even the fixation of Rs. 16/ as purchasing price per khirwar of Shali could hardly bring to the Government about four lakhs (8,00,000 mds.) against the speculated target of twelve lakh khirwars (24,00,000 mds.). The soaring price and scarcity became unanswerable.

The revolt of Hamid Bakhshi (younger brother of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad--they are 6-1) from the National Conference and against his own brother provided fodder to all opposition camps. His criticism of the ruling class was the feeling of the public pulse—failure of food policy, Peace Brigade terror, corruption etc. Later he repudiated his stand.

A fresh census of Srinagar city was taken in February in response to a demand for revision of ration tickets which resulted in an increase of about 31,000 in city's population under rationing.

Rs. 2,67,000 were distributed as industrial loans and Rs. 3,96,000 paid to Town Area Committees as aid under Second Five-Year Plan. Rs. 6,03,000 was given as aid and Rs. 3 crores as loan to refugees in the State, since 1947.

Financially 1959-60 was a bumper year. Revenue of the State rose to Rs, 11,77,39,000 which gave a saving of Rs. 3,61,16,000 after meeting with an expenditure of Rs. 8,62,30,000.

A. A. Andreyey, leader of Soviet Goodwill Delegation which visited Kashmir in the second week of March, reiterated that Kashmir was one of the States of the Republic of India and that the question of its future was an artificial creation. This was closely followed by yet another important event in the third week of March—visit of Hammarskjold, Secretary General of United Nations Organisation where the Kashmir dispute is still pending. He inspected the

cease fire line on spot and contacted U. N. Observers. No Secretary General had come before.

Permit system which was introduced in 1947 controlling entry into and from the State against which Dr. S. P. Mukerjee had also raised his voice was abolished with effect from lst April and was followed by expanding jurisdiction of Supreme Court and Election Commission through a vote of State Legislature. A mushroom political body called "United Democratic Front" came into being asking for special privileges of the State to continue but the move was against the current. All Archaeological Remains in the State were formally haned over to the Central Government.

Almost all detenues were released before the first week of May, prominent among whom were Kashyapa Bundhu, Ghulam Mohammad Shah and others.

For the first time the head of the State Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh accompanied by his wife left for a three-week official tour of Soviet Russia on April 20 at the invitation of Russian Government. Another landmark which closely followed was the visit of Vinoba Bhave, Bhoodan leader, into the State. From May 22 onwards he made Padyatra (foot journey) from village to village and addressed huge gathrings asking for free gifts of land and money. His four months stay brought into his bowl, about 16,883 kanals of land.

By an Act of Parliament census operation due in 1961 were extended to the State of Jammu & Kashmir. No census was taken in 1951.

Formation of 1,000 Service Co-operatives was under contemplation towards the end of 1951 (Second Five-Year Plan) for promotion of agricultural production, each unit to consist of two to five villages with an approximate population of 1,000 people.

A survey was prompted by the growing tourist industry in the State showing 76 per cent Indians, 9 per cent Americans, 6 per cent Britons, 6 per cent Ceylonese and others, 3 per cent Business men. On

an average a tourist spent about Rs. 275/- during his stay in the valley. Roughly speaking tourism brings about one and a half crore of rupees every year and the industry has rightly focussed attention in the public as well as private sections.

Disturbances in Tibet in March-April created some concern among 42,000 Buddhist followers of Dalai Lama in Ladakh particularly about the future of Mansar, an Indian enclave in Western Tibet which acknowledged sovereignty of Ladakh for the last 300 years or more. With the population of about 300 the enclave is situated 70 miles north of the nearest Indian border and 50 miles to the east of Gartok. The village paid land revenue to Ladakh when it was independent and to Kashmir Durbar since 1846. Purang, Rudok, Guge and Lowo were also parts of Ladakh State.[1] The Lharai stream near the Pauggong lake was the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. Chinese intrusion into this area should cause grave concern.

Before the formal introduction of Co-operative Farming or formation of Service Co-operatives about 8,000, acres of State land were distributed among landless cultivators—two acres of irrigated land or four acres of unirrigated land were allotted to a landless peasant. A dairy farm handling about 250 maunds of milk was set up at Chashmashahi (five miles from town) with four collective centres and thirty-five distribution centres. Subsidy of rupees 7 lakhs by the Central Government was available to make supply of fresh milk possible which had become a rare commodity. State contribution amounted to about Rs. 5 lakh. This milks colony was formally inaugurated on 30th November, 1959 by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. An Industrial Finance Corporation was also set up with a resource of Rs. 10 lakhs to give further impetus to trade and industry.

1. After about 600 years a College has been opened at Leh for development of Tibetan language and Buddhist religion. This education so far was available at Lhasa, capital of Tibet which came under Chinese domination in 1959.

Construction of roads included one to 8,000 ft. high beauty spot Gulmarg and second to Kishtwar, famous for saphire mines and rich forests. The latter is 40 miles long touching Doda which is already connected with Batote—Rs. 67 lakhs came the cost for this.

Katra town in Jummu is at the foot of Vaishnu Devi shrine. A yoga institute, the first of its kind, is designed for this place at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. Two other projects—Engineering College* and Cosmic Ray Laboratory are on anvil. The latter will be constructed at Khilanmarg (10,000 ft. high), 31 miles from Srinagar at a cost of Rs. 50,00,000 by the Atomic Energy Commission of India. A full-fledged Medical College has already come into operation. Economic position of the people could be read from the fact that over 250 pilgrims including some women left for Haj pilgrimage in May. This was the highest number so far recorded. During the last 64 years as many as 15 devastating floods were witnessed of which the flood of 1957 was worst on record. The capacity of the Jhelum is 36,000 to 50,000 cusecs but the flood was 90,000 cusecs. 10½ mile long Sindh Canal costing about Rs. 10,00,000 from Ganderbal to Harwan was completed. Besides irrigating land it will ensure 24-hour water supply to Srinagar with growing population and increasing water consumption.

Construction of Arts faculty of J. & K. University at the University campus near Naseem Bagh, seven miles from Srinagar, was taken up in hand. The University will be named after Maulana Abu-ul-Kalam Azad. Yuvraj Karan Singh donated land for the campus and the faculty is being built at a cost of Rs. 3.5 lakhs. The University may serve as beacon light for the whole of India as did once ancient University of Kashmir which produced historians, grammarians, surgeons, engineers, philosophers and what not.**

But slums of Srinagar continue mostly as they did

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* The college has since been started.
** The University has been shifted there since.

in feudal period in spite of I and II Five-Year Plans and tall talk by politicians. History does not take notice of parties, official or unofficial, that go round but progress that a country makes.

The month of July started with heavy rains which flooded the Jhelum and its tributaries submerging the valley in water. Level of Jhelum touched 30.25 ft. (six feet above the danger mark). Mohra Power House which had escaped the wrath of raiders in 1946 was hit hard. Ganderbal Power House collapsed. There was no light for about 10 days in the city. Water level in Wolur rose 2.4 feet above the 1957 record (highest was 5,185.8 feet above mean sea level against 5.183.4 feet in 1957). Ranbir Canal in Jammu also gave way. Death roll rose to 149 (127 civilian and 22 army) in the State—76 in Kashmir only (Anantnag 8, Baramulla 52, Srinagar 16). Jammu fared equally worse where the death figure rose to 86, 56 in Poonch alone. 300 miles of roadways and breaches including 18 bridges and culverts were affected. In Poonch 21 miles of roads and 7 bridges, in Jammu 100 miles of roads and in Leh one bridge and ten miles were affected. Loss was also heavy on account of timber that moved down to Pakistan. An estimate of loss was put as under—Rupees ten crores which affected about 4 lakhs of people and 1,000 villages. Sonawaar yielded no gold. Yields of I and II-year Plans were almost washed away. This flood was unprecedented as all tributaries in all directions rose simultaneously and yet the city was saved. In the thick of it the prices of shali and rice were abruptly raised from Rs.12/- to Rs. 16/- per Khirwar (shali) and four seers to three seers per rupee (rice). Political sagacity would defer this enhancement to a later date. Popular resentment expressed through mass procession and hartal was a natural corollary. And there were acts of incendiarism. Circuit House at Tosha Maidan and a bridge on Srinagar—Chrar Shariff road were burnt. An attempt was made to set Legislative Assembly Chamber on fire. And in spite of this all Vinoba Bhave climbed Pirpanchal and crossed into Gulmarg via Poonch on

15th July. Banihal Cart Road which had gone out of service from July 4 was available for traffic after eighteen days. Visitors who had come in large numbers were stranded at various spots. Many of them had reached the end of their resources and the hardships they faced were painful. The first convoy of 560 trucks and cars which carried about a thousand visitors was, inspite of free lift, a grim sight to look at the Tourist Reception Centre. While on its way a landslide caused many a death.* Roughly estimated loss was put as under :-Live-stock 10,000 ; houses 14,000 plus 15,000 damaged; agricultural land 2,00,000 acres. Relief was given as under :—Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per head in case of death, Rs. 30 lakhs taccavi loans, ordinance to prevent purchase, transfer, sale or lease or remission of land revenue. Since the construction of B. C. Road never had traffic come to standstill for a whole summer month. Nehru's flying visit on 27th July and Acharya Vinoba Bhave's entry in Srinagar on 2nd August via Gulmarg were a healing balm for a people facing a national calamity. Acharya Vinoba delivered about half a dozen surmons from New Kashmir Park. He is the third in line—Shankaracharya (Vedas), Shah Hamdan (Islam) and Vinoba (Bhudan) who enlightened Kashmir through the ages, the first two on spirituality and the third on economics. He went back via Banihal after a three week walking tour. India reacted to Kashmir's calamity with great generosity unparalleled in local annals. Donations and grants in cash and kind poured in abundantly.

A ropeway connecting Chinani in Jammu with Verinag in Kashmir is under survey. It will be the longest and highest (11,000 feet above sea level) ropeway. The first phase may cost about two lakhs of rupees.

Seventeenth of October became suddenly a jubilation day when restrictions on import of food grains into Srinagar were removed and city ration increased. The price of Shali was fixed at Rs. 16/-

* The old Moghul route via Rajouri and Shopian will be an alternative road as the present route is showing signs of collapse.

per khirwar and rice at Rs. 13.13 a maund in the open market as well. Food ration was increased from 12 seers to 15 seers per head per month from November i e., 12 seers rice and 3 seers wheat flour (the price of latter at 3 seers a rupee). The Government imported 3 million maunds of food-grains from India during the food-year 1959-60 to make up the loss caused by the floods. To supplement this Food-grain Regulation Order of 1958 and Guest Control Order continued to remain in force. Fixation of price was a thorn in the rose.

A big Indo-Chinese clash was reported from south Ladakh on October 21. Indian policemen were camping as part of their patrol duties at a place called Hot Springs in the Chang Chenmo Valley. This area is north of Spenggur, beyond the Khurnak Fort and some 100 miles from Leh. The party was attacked by the Chinese as a result of which nine men were killed, some injured and ten taken prisoner. The first Chinese attack had occurred on July 28 when six Indian policemen were taken into custody.

The first snowfall of the season came on 7th November, much earlier than usual and this also adversely affected harvesting of crops which was not completed.

Nehru will go down in the annals of Kashmir as a leader who fought against proverbial ignorance, poverty and starvation of the people during the last thirteen years which has hardly a parallel anywhere else.

A voluntary strain of about three quarters of a crore of rupees on the Exchequer was involved when third instalment of allowances for Government employees was announced by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad on December 7 payable from April last. The total burden was estimated to amount to Rs. 2 crores per year.

Since partition of India in 1947 the problem of

refugees from areas now known as "occupied Kashmir" had, except periodic doles, remained practically unsolved. On January 7 the Government of India announced a grant of Rs. 15 crores. Every refugee settled on land was given Rs. 1,000 and every refugee not settled on land Rs. 3,500. The relief covered 35,000 refugee families. They were also assured that they would not be dislodged from lands or houses.

Except a small snowfall in the morning hours of 7th November which melted away before dawn, there was no snowfall of season, unusual again, up to 19th January, barring a nominal break on 14th—27th day of Chilakalan. Bright sun-shine was considered a freak of nature.

A high-altitude cosmic research observatory at Gulmarg run by Aligarh and J. & K. Universities was transferred to the Departmant of Atomic Energy which is to build the laboratory at an altitude of 9,000 ft., costing Rs. 6,22,700/-.

The budget of the State rose to Rs. 1,569 . 93 lakhs (over 15 crores) for the year 1960-61. The Central assistance for the Plan during the year was estimated to be Rs. 706 . 74 lakhs.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stated in the Assembly that the State was getting Rs. 3 crore aid from the Centre while the Departments transferred like Customs, Income-tax, Telephone and Telegraph etc. would yield much higher income. Later he dissolved the Municipalities of Jammu and Srinagar.

The National Democratic Conference received a great set back when Ghulam Rasool Renzu, former Speaker of J. & K Assembly, resigned from it on the plea that communalism had entered into its ranks. It was Renzu episode which had given birth to the organisation.

Himachal slogan and Ladakh defence prompted Nehru's visit to the Valley on July 2. During his five-day stay he made two trips to Ladakh.

King Mahendra of Nepal and his Queen arrived in Srinagar on 8th July. There were Gurkhas in the state army some of whom had acquired immoveable property but the visit of a King of Nepal (though private) was never heard before.

Eight bomb explosions in Lalmandi at nightfall on 7th July were attributed to army agents which again shows that all is not well still.

The new Secretariat building at Shahid Gunj was taken up in August 1961 and completed in April 1963. About 400 labourers worked at it. The cost came to about Rs. 51 lakhs. The floor area is 140,000 sq. ft. 2500 tons of cement and 850 tons of iron were used in the seven-storyed building—410 ft. × 53 ft. (12000 tons). Post office, Telephone Exchange and Cafetaria are attached to it.

The building was occupied on 6th May 1963 when offices moved from Jammu to Srinagar. The opening ceremony was performed on 3-5-63.

The decision of the Government to grant pensions to persons disabled or killed during the struggle movement since 1931 (belated though) from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 75/- per head per month was widely appreciated. Court-fine and punitive tax had already been remitted. But opportunists reaped better harvest than actual sufferers.

The first week of May was a time of great excitement at Delhi when America's Secretary of State, Britains Commonwealth Secretary, Foreign Secretary and Chief of Army Staff conferred with Indian leaders, Kashmir being the principal topic of discussion. But no honourable and equitable compromise between India and Pakistan was available.

The fifth round of ministerial talks on Kashmir which began at Karachi on 22nd April ended on 25th. Neither party won any Rubber.

The sixth round of talks started at Delhi on 15th May which ended dramatically on second day with no obvious gains or losses for either.

The sixteen year old Kashmir dispute will not be settled at the Conference table. Six rounds of ministerial talks have indicated this. Mediation, arbitration, partition or plebiscite are not acceptable. Two neighbours staring at each other with eagle looks while banking on a hostile population may one day flare up a situation that will be disastrous. Pakistan has already occupied over 28,000 sq. miles. Adjustment of Ceasefire Line would yield to her a little more but she insists on 'pound of flesh'. India which claims legal sovereignty is not prepared to surrender more, come what may.

Kashmir presented Finance Minister of India 1.9 lakh grams of gold, 583,000 grams of silver, 168 sovereigns and a cheque for Rs. 30 lakhs on March 29 at a reception. Gold and silver was mostly taken from Toshkhana Department and passed on for Defence Fund. The amount in cash was the second instalment as collections had exceeded fifty lakhs by this time. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad presented a cheque for Rs. ten lakhs to Jawahar Lal Nehru on his arrival here on 18th June as the state's further contribution towards National Defence Fund. The state has already contributed Rs. 30 lakhs plus 5½ mds. gold and 15½ mds. silver. Addressing workers Nehru stated that Pakistan had exploited Chinese aggression and blackmailed India at the most critical hour in her history. India still stood for honourable & equitable settlement but not for surrender.

GLIMPSES FROM 1961 CENSUS

Population (9 Districts) 35,60,976
roughly four millions
(a) Rural 29,67,661
(b) Urban 5,93,315
Population in 1951 estimated 32,53,852
Increase in 1951-61—9.44% (0.9% p.a.)
Sex ratio 878 females for every 1000 males
Srinagar lowest 849 to 1000. Literacy 110 for 1000 (170 in male population & 43 in female population).

The third five year plan included among other things Industrial Estates, a two mile tunnel from Baramulla to Sheri, an ante-flood measure to direct Jhelum water.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's counter threat to Himachal slogan that 1947 would he repeated poses a serious problem.

During 1959-60 there were 144 raids which killed 18 persons. In 125 bomb explosions 16 persons were killed, property destroyed and a number of persons injured.

528 Tibetan refugees entered Kashmir via Ladakh-Tibet border in 1959-60.

About 2,25,000 lbs of Vegetable Seeds were exported in 1959 to countries like Indonesia, Ceylon, Iran and Burma. Total export in Second 5 year plan period amounted to 9,66,808 lbs as against 1,92,273 lbs during the First Plan period.

The stadium cost Rs. 12.75 lakhs and close to it came up youth hostel and Tagore Memorial Theatre costing Rs. 14 lakhs. The Engineering College cost Rs. 1.5 crores. It was inaugurated on September 24th at Naseem Bagh, 7 miles from Srinagar.

The reported purchase of a plot of land in Bangalore by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad sounded a dim note of posible retreat.

Sudden outbreak of cholera in October took a death toll of 1694 within three months. The immediate cause was use of stagnant water by boat population in Dalgate area.

Zadibal constituenay bye-election to Assembly on November 2nd under the auspices of Election Commissioner of India was a sad experience for two independent candidates who lost to National Conference Candidates.

Burzahom excavations near Harwan revealed existence of prehistoric pit-dwellers in India. They also yielded information regarding the neolithic and later cultures for the affinities of which deep research is needed which may extend beyond the frontiers of India.

Twenty years old Baramulla Match Factory was nationalised in November—after 18 months of suspension. This was the second non-muslim concern, the first being Karan Singh Woollen Mills which came under nationalisation soon after partition.

As December came in the merger of National Conference and Democratic National Conference came to notice, the latter having gathered no moss during the period of rift. The merger was not approved by the Jammu wing. Cabinet was expanded to accommodate Messrs Sadiq, Dogra, Qasim and Dhar making the total 9.

The revenue of the State for 1961-62 rose to Rs. 1,71,880 lakhs. Expenditure went up to Rs. 2,45,703 lakhs which was supported by Central assistance of Rs. 656 lakhs. Expenditure on education alone rose to 2 crores from 33.5 lakhs in 1947.

Family allowance to conspiracy case prisoners varied from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 1000/-. They were given newspapers, clothing and bedding. The jail rooms were fitted with ceiling fans. They could play volley ball and badminton.

The area of the State has been reduced to 53,220 sq. miles. 27,89,769 acres are under cultivation worked by 28,00,000 agriculturists. Under the Landed Estates Abolition Act 4,50,000 acres were taken away from land-lords out of which 2,30,000 acres were transferred to tillers. The area under forests is 8000 sq. miles. The forest wealth is roughly estimated at Rs. 1,500 crores.

According to 1961 census the population of the

State on this side of the cease fire line was estimated at 35,83,585. The population of Kashmir province including Ladakh was 19,71,866. Srinagar recorded an increase from 2,07,787 in 1941 to 2,84,753. The population has shot up by 20.5% since 1941.

Total loan outstanding against the State from the Centre ending March 1960 stood at Rs. 38,98,61,297. Total aid since 1947 amounted to Rs. 16,39,72,419. Rs. 31,40,693 were given as relief and loan to flood sufferers in 1959.

During the Second Five-Year Plan 35 crores were spent on development work and 36 crores worth assets were created. At the beginning of Second five-year plan 35 lakh maunds of food grains were imported which was reduced to 12 lakh maunds towards the close.

The National Conference started crusade against Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Amritsar Treaty of 1846 in 1946. The subsequent events forced the Dogra to pocket this humiliation. Fifteen years after he asserted himself again when Maharaja Gulab Singh Memorial Cultural Centre was organised at Jammu on the occasion of Maharaja's death centenary. The foundation stone was laid by Dr. Karan Singh himself who stated "As long as India lives, will live the name of Maharaja Gulab Singh who extended the borders of India at a time when India was not a free country". Thus was history un-read and re-read.

Maharaja Hari Singh died at Bombay on 26th April. He was 65. Neither his son nor his wife were near by. Death was due to heart failure. Offices, schools and shops remained closed in Jammu only. For thirteen long years he remained isolated and parted in isolation away from his native home. He made out a will by which bulk of his assets were given away to Arya Samaj and his ashes were thrown over Jammu.

Anantnag town was partially ablaze on 8th June. Three big Mohallas were engulfed in the fire burning

about 327 houses, 25 godowns and 16 pens. About a dozen fire fighting engines rushed to the town to fight the fire. Over 5,000 people were badly hit and the loss exceeded one crore. Their rehabilitation was keenly looked after.

The Government of India recognised Dr. Karan Singh as successer to H. H. Maharaja Hari Singh with effect from 26th April entitling him to an annual privy purse of Rs ten lakhs. He declined to use the title until his term as Sadar-i-Riyasat out of respect for national emotions.

The first dredger named after Suya, a 9th century Engineer who had devised measures to drain off Kashmir valley, went into commission on 19th July. It will deepen Jhelum's 16 mile long out fall channel from Sopore to Khadanyar. Dredging operation is part of state's Rs. 22 crore flood protection scheme. Jawahar Lal Nehru performed the inauguration ceremony who later at Lal Chowk declared that talk of plebiscite had ended long back. The second dredge 'Bad Shah' was commissioned in September. Rice yield in the State rose to 2147.2 lbs per acre.

Jashne Kashmir has survived as an annual function. Electricity for Mattan and Parmanand Ashram are high-lights of this year's Jashan.

Dr. V. Raghavan told over 650 delegates at the 21st session of All India Oriental Conference held at Medical College Hall on 14th October "to carry on their work in such a way that the needed atmosphere for national integration was slowly created and healthy trends were allowed to evolve gradually", also (a) Devnagri to be used for All India purpose (b) regional scripts to be used for respective mother tongues (c) research under taken in Indology (d) All India Education cadre to be formed (e) Universities to have endowment lectures (f) South Indian languages to be taught in North Indian Universities (g) consistent attitude to be adopted for national integration by public leaders.

The year 1961 has ended with smiles and tears both. Rising prices, black-marketing and corruption were the keynote with the ushering in of the 3rd Five-year Plan, resentment among the people received a fillip. The entire economy being in the hands of one class they alone could fight the battle for self-preservation. Today a road permit holder is a 'chalis hazari' of the Mughul days.

The year 1962 ushered in a tense atmosphere both political and physical. Political because February elections were heading on, physical because there was no regular snowfall not even *Kath Kushu*, a freak of nature which kept people guessing. December to March are usually snow months in Kashmir.

Ladakh was for the first time linked up with Srinagar by telephone on 14th January. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was the first to talk.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and 24 others were committed to Sessions on the eve of Republic Day by the special magistrate. They were found guilty prima facie of conspiracy to over throw the Government and facilitate the states wrongful annexation by Pakistan. The trial had started in May 1958. The committal order which runs into about 1000 typed pages will contribute a page to criminal history.

Winter crops like wheat, barley and oil seeds received a great set-back due to exceptional season.

The prediction of world's doom between February 3 to 5 when eight planets would meet in *Makra Reshi* (capricorn) brought down election tempo to a frezing point. *Havans* were performed to ward off any natural calamity. 32 candidates of the National Conference were returned unopposed. In the contest for the remaining 11 seats 2 were won by Independents in Handwara and Badgam. Praja Parishad was conceded only 3 seats. Union Election Commission did come but local tactics of the ruling party could also work wonders.

Addressing a public meeting at Lal Chowk just after the elections were over Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad stated that special position given to the state under the Indian Constitution would not be withdrawn. The Finance Commission which had proposed a cut in the state's subsidy was also brought under fire. "We were borrowing from India and paying back. India herself was borrowing from others." Obviously the trump card in the pocket was reacting. The same trump card was displayed by his predecessor.

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's 1962 cabinet consisted of :—

1. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad
2. G. L. Dogra
3. S. Mir Qasim
4. Dina Nath Mahajan
5. Kh. G. M. Sadiq
6. Shams-ud-Din
7. Chuni Lal Kotwal
8. Durga Prasad Dhar
9. Asad Ullah Mir

The Union Atomic Energy Commission project the high altitude cosmic ray research laboratory was completed and is being linked up with the high level laboratory on the 12,500 ft Apharwat Peak through Khilanmarg by means of a ropeway.

Jammu and Kashmir Minerals Ltd. approved a total outlay of Rs. 2.56 crores during 1962-63. The projects were mining of a coalfield at Kalakot, lignite at Nichihama, saphire at Paddar, two aerial ropeways, one connecting Bergoa coalmine with 20 megawatt thermal power station at Kalakot and another 10 megawatt thermal power station at Jangalgali, drilling units, production of gypsum at Bunyar, cement factory at Wuyan and Jammu, spun piper factory, steel rerolling mill, pencil slate factory and fertilizer factories.

Pre-historic megaliths and remains were located at Khurhom at long. E 74·23′ Lat. N 34·33′ about 13 miles from Kupwara commanding a beautiful view of

the Pohru river basin. The inscription bore the Kharoshati script and the figures signify Kushan art dating back to 250 B. C.

There were 140 raids across ceasefire line from January 1961 to end of April 62 resulting in about 12 deaths and heavy loss of property. Besides 33 bomb explosions also occurred.

May 30 bye-election in Srinagar was an eye-opener to the ruling party. The official candidate won only by less then 300 votes inspite full-scale support that the Government could give. Yet another step forward towards accession was taken by a declaration that members to the Central Parliament from this state would be returned by direct election.

Revenue for 1962-63 was estimated at Rs 34.93 crores and expenditure at Rs 40.77 crores showing a deficit of Rs 5.84 crores out of which Rs 11,00,000 were expected to be recovered through additional taxes. Allotments under major heads was :—

Industry	Rs 6.50 crores
P. W. D.	Rs 5.50 ,,
Irrigation & Power	Rs 5.39 ,,
Education	Rs 3.00 ,,
Public Health	Rs 1.55 ,,

The debt position of the state stood at Rs. 35,78,95,318 by end of March 61 against assets credited—Rs. 36,59,73,000.

June 22 was again a climax day. The Security Council passed a resolution moved by Ireland by seven votes against two, two remaining neutral. Russia exercised the veto for the 100th time to block the resolution. While India is agreeable to talks with Pakistan on the issue she is against mediation, arbitration or intervention. Increased tension is but natural.

Jawahar lal's second visit to Kashmir this year was meaningful—China, Pakistan and local problems.

The President of India decorated Dr. Karan Singh with the honorary rank of Lt. General.

6,50,000 mds. of food grains were expected to be imported in (1962) as against 11,00,000 mds. in (1961).

Something like an undeclared war broke out along the border between India and China in July. The Chinese tightened their hold on 12000 sq. miles inside Ladakh. The war is still on. There have been set backs and casualties but tough resistance is being offered with the determination to throw back the enemy.

The political trend drifted towards section 370 of the Indian Constitution. Voices were raised against two Presidents, two Prime Ministers and two flags within the same Indian Union, Kashmiris becoming Indian nationals outside the state and Indians being refused similar privilege within the state, National Conference supplanting Indian National Congress. Bakhshi was on the horns of a dilemma—in one breath he declared that the state was an integral part of India and in another he still stressed for special status, quoting a cock and bull story. Again a situation arose which Delhi was called upon to tackle. In a press interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad said "Kashmir was still very much an international issue. The threat from China and Pakistan backed by the United States and other powers still persisted. The communal and reactionary elements within the state and in other parts of India were still active. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah though not as important as before still posed a serious political problem for the state which could not be dealt with primarily as a law & order question. Article 370 be scrapped for all I care but before taking such a step all its implications should be fully examined and understood. This Arctide gave validity to the states voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected Constituent Assembly of J & K state. The National Conference could not be

converted into a unit of the Congress Party. The National Conference had its own special traditions and its following had certain sentiments which needed to be respected. Closely following this in an another interview given to a foreign editor Bakhshi said that Kashmir would either be independent but it is not possible in the present day, surrounded as she is by India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia and China. If Section 370 were abrogated Indian capitalists would buy Kashmir in no time. He permitted foreign investment only on the basis of 51% shares for the state and 49% for outside capital.

Srinagar was taken by surprise when sign boards bearing the following statement by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad which categorically contradicted his previous press interview appeared at conspicuous places :—

> Jammu & Kashmir State is an integral part of India. It has been since times immemorial and shall continue to be so eternally. The States voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected Constituent Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir has given irrevocable finality and constitutional legality to this relationship. This association of the state with the rest of India is the only key to the solution of all the problems facing the State."
>
> Sd. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.

Fourth revision of pay-scale since 1953 involved the Exchequer to a further expenditure of about Rs. 45/- lakhs per year benefiting about 60,000 employees. The minimum pay was raised to Rs 65/- p. m. But the middle class in services was no gainer.

A glimpse of mal-administration may be taken from the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-general of India :—

(Rs. 2.51 crores have been left in abeyance by the Forest Deptt. Rs 3.74 crores were invested in 29 Govt. managed concerns of which 8 are in the formative stage, commercial account for 1960-61 is still due from

13 (performa account of 2 of these for 1958-59 and other 4 concerns for 1959-60 is being awaited). Bouns was paid in two silk concerns in anticipation of profits. Out of a loan of Rs. 9 lakhs to workers Rs 8.18 lakhs was in arrears. The Pashmina Wool Syndicate which was advanced a loan of Rs 5.87 lakhs during 1953-55 is under liquidation. The debt position stands at Rs 39 crores as against Rs 25 crores in 1958. Out of 3.15 lakh mds. of fertilizers received upto 31-3-59 only 1.77 lakh mds. were distributed. Out of Rs 4.98 lakhs collected from consumers only Rs. 2.75 lakhs were remitted to Treasury and the balance of Rs 2.23 remains recoverable. Jummu has failed to account for 3.15 lakh mds. of fertilizers from 1955. Out of 1.06 lakh mds. of fertilizers received during 1959-60, 52,000 mds. were distributed against 7.28 lakhs but Rs 50,000 only were collected by end of Decemeber 1960. Even this was not remitted to Treasury. Rs 1.46 lakhs were embezzled from the Co-operative Bank's cash balance. Irrigation and Electric Deptts. indicated leakages of 23 lakhs and 4 lakhs ending 31-3-61. 1955 residential quarters were built at a cost of Rs 55.87 lakhs out of which 1481 were allotted but there are no regular records.)

23 Colleges, 260 Higher Secondary Schools, 535 Middle Schools, 5,800 Primary Schools, 12 L. A. Matric Training Schools total 6630 were run by the end of II 5 year plan. 2,67,586 students attended schools. The Jammu and Kashmir University boasts of 9 Faculties, 12 Post Graduate Deptts. with research facilities for the Ph. D. Degree in most of them. The University examined 23,531 candidates and its budget rose from Rs. 2,10,327 in 1949 to Rs. 44,20,750 in 1962.

An assessment of leadership was made by Prem Nath Dogra (Mirror, Jammu 11.8.62) :—"Bakhshi had held a Cabinet Minister from his ears and pushed him into a chair during the open Durbar at his Srinagar residence recently though the Premier had done so in annoyance and his action was not appreciable, it was strange that the concerned Minister had swallowed the insult with a pinch of salt."

Dr. Karan Singh was re-elected Sadar-i-Riyast for the third term.

The Jammu and Kasmir Militia was granted regular army status and redesignated 'the Ladakh Scouts' for having given an excellant account in the Damchok engagement against Chinese.

A grand seven storey building went up on the Bund opposite Sri Chand Chanar. Lengthwise it has thirteen double windows (about 35 yards). Such a building was unique. Bakhshi Majid, a younger brother of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, took a trip to London & Tokyo to select sanitary and electric fitting for the building. Fifteen years before he was running a tailors shop. Such meteoric rise was due to Ceasefire Line and Five-Year Plans. The new Secretariat 6 storey building at Shahid Gunj rose up to play second fiddle to the above.

Withdrawal from some out-posts and loss of life both in LADAKH & NEFA area shocked the people. The response to India's call to drive out the Chinese from Indian soil was magnificant. People voluntarily offered money, gold and blood. Such an upsurge was unique in the recorded annals. The position was weak from 20th October. The arrival of arms from abroad had a psychological effect on the Jawans. America and Britain particularly came to help while over sixty nations condemned China.

Publication of a Russian Atlas showing LADAKH & NEFA as part of China further complicated the border situation.

Sixteen persons were awarded 'Vir Chakra' for exceptional heroism on the Ladakh front by the President of India at a special ceremony. Most of them belonged to J. & K. Militia, now re-named Ladakh Scouts. Some awards were posthumous.

China offered a unilaterad cease fire on the northern border with effect from Wednesday (21st November) and agreed to withdraw to the position held by her in

1959 from December 1st but asked India to stay where she was driven to.

The disputed Mcmahon Line, legacy of British rule, remains, according to this offer, still crossed on Ladakh side. India insisted in September 8 position before talks could start. Cease fire, however, was effective. China had further agreed to withdraw 20 Kilometres from actual line of control in NEFA while asking India also to withdraw 20 Kilometres on her side in Ladakh. As China withdrew in NEFA India moved up.

China categorically rejected India's offer of September 8 position and insisted on her own 3 point proposal of December 9. The six Colombo Powers, however, intervened in the dispute.

A joint Communique was issued by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India on 30th November stating that all out-standing problems between Pakistan & India including Kashmir would be solved equitably and honourably. The problems would be considered first at Ministerial level and later by the two leaders. This atmosphere was created at the instance of American & British leaders who were on a visit to India in connection with her defence needs. But conflicting statements that followed in India & Pakistan further confused the situation.

The Ministerial talks on Kashmir and other disputes between India & Pakistan started on 27th December at Rawalpindi with an assurance of clean state from either side. The talks were resumed in Delhi on January 16.

The year 1963 dawned with one of the severest winters recorded in history. It started from November which is not usual. The whole of 'Chila Kalan' was covered by *Kat Kashu*. Dal Lake was also frozen and there were cycle and jeep drives on two feet thick ice.

The Defence Fund rose to about Rs. 15/- lakhs plus

gold contributions. But the response to defence call was not so spontaneous and encouraging as could be expected for a double reason, one that the state had greatly benefited from association with India and two that Ladakh being a part of the state was invaded by China.

The conferment of honorary Degree of LL. D. on Dr. Karan Singh and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad by the Aligarh University was generally welcomed. The citation mentioned continued election of Dr. Karan Singh to the office of Sadar-i-Riyasat and Bakhshi's qualities of head and heart to meet an emergency.

Anti-Corruption Commission consisting of M. A. Ansari, R. K. Dulloo and Durga Singh announced early this year was a long awaited step to check growing corruption.

Indo-Pakistan Ministerial talks which ended at Delhi on 19th January were resumed at Karachi early next month. Both sides stated that difference had been narrowed down. They were at a stage which was neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

Six, non aligned nations, Colombo plan which was by and large acceptable both to China and India provided that in the eastern sector China to retire to Mcmahon Line (the actual line of control prior to September 8), middle sector to remain as it was and in the western sector China to retire 12 miles while India to stay where she was and the area thus vacated to be guarded by civilians from both sides and finally China and India to come to the Conference table for an early and amicable settlement of the border dispute by mutual negotiation. Conference table receded as China hesitated to endorse clarifications.

On March 2 Pakistan signed a border treaty with China conceding to the latter about 13600 sq. miles including nine passes from that part of the state forcibly occupied by the former. Pakistan claimed

she had obtained about 1500 sq. miles while China got about 2500 sq. miles. This was mutual 'give & take' of a land which belonged to neither. India brought this to the notice of the Security Council on March 16.

The revenue of the state rose to Rs. 2952.46 lakhs for the year 1963—1964 and the expenditure was estimated at Rs. 2729.68 lakhs showing a deficit of Rs. 272.22 lakhs. Capital receipts stood at 969.16 and expenditure not charged to revenue at 1314.05. Principal allotments were Education 30,402, Industries 395.00, Irrigation 246.20, Power 434.46, P.W.D. 504.80, Ladakh 94.82.

Consquent to the declaration of an Emergency in the country and tightening of the budget nearly all Government controlled Industrial concerns were given notice of closure. They had shown losses.

During the last sixteen years hospitals in the state have risen from 6534, beds to 7554 and doctors to 342. This indicates that diseases also multiplied and number of patients went up beyond available accommodation. Schools rose to 4643 from 1273 during the last 12 years.

The fourth round of Ministrial talks on Kashmir between India and Pakistan ended on 14th March at Calcutta to be resumed at Karachi in April.

An unprecedented cloud burst hit Pahalgam town on 20th July at about 5 p. m. which killed 30 persons and swept away 2 hotels, several shops, and few huts, two cars, one Jeep and number of ponies etc. Police and Military were called to help civilian authorities. According to unofficial sources the death toll rose to several hundred.

Defence

Since 1947 the defence of Kashmir was entrusted to the following Generals who guarded the border with exemplary skill :—

1. Major General Kulwant Singh
2. " " K. S. Thimayya
3. " " Mahadav Singh
4. " " Jai Singh
5. " " Henderson Brooks
6. " " Umrao Singh
7. " " S. C. Misra
8. " " A. S. Pathania
9. " " Bikram Singh

Non-Muslims continue to feel that secularism would not be complete without them while Muslims feel that accession is mainly their affair. Political consciousness has been awakened to such a degree that every one thinks that the trump card is in his pocket which he can exploit to any length. The modern art of propaganda and publicity has affected history badly. History which ought to be factual may not bring to light facts at all and posterity will vainly hunt for them. They will inherit intellectual starvation only.

The two stands of India and Pakistan vis-a-vis Kashmir are like two parallel lines which do not seem to meet anywhere. Seventeen years have passed and bitterness has grown. To avoid armed conflict which is likely to hit both better counsels should bring them close to each other for an amicable settlement in a spirit of give and take. If this does not happen future is not bright, situation being explosive which can flare up any moment. When Graham Report comes up for consideration before the World Forum, valour should yield before discretion. The blood bath of 1947 will only be avoided if the present status quo is internationally recognized with a little give and take on either side, no matter who loses or who gains morally. Yet another threat from northern side has recently posed for the state. Double threat to Kashmir will further promote vicious circles. The possibility of merger of Jammu Province with Himachal and the Valley being taken over by the Centre as also State Subject, Definition being

scrapped for good in the near future may not be altogether ruled out.



BROAD ACHIEVMENTS SINCE 1947.

(1) Military service for Kashmiris.
(2) Fight against mass illiteracy.
(3) Land reform—abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari.
(4) Burial of Amritsar Treaty,
(5) Banihal Tunnel.
(6) J. & K. University.
(7) States Constitution.
(8) Termination of hereditary rule.
(9) Medical, Agriculture, Ayurvedic & Engineering Colleges.
(10) Road to Ladakh via Sonamarg.
(11) Industrial Estates.
(12) Stadium and Tagore Hall.
(13) Pottery Works, Tiles and Plywood factories.
(14) Mineral Products Corporation.
(15) Power House at Ganderbal.
(16) Textile Mill at Kathua.
(17) Cement and Watch factories.
(18) Supply of Tape water and electric light to rural areas.



KASHMIR

Then and Now

Francois Bernier who travelled from Lahore in 1665 A.D. with the royal cavalcade of Aurangzeb writes—"My horses are exhausted, they have not seen a blade of grass since we quitted Lahore. My Indians, notwithstanding their black, dry and hard skin, are incapable of further exertion. The whole of my face, my feet and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters which prick like needles. All my hopes are in four or five limes still remaining for lemonade and in a little dry curd which I am about to drink diluted with water and sugar. The ink dries at the end of my pen and the pen itself drops from my hand. (Porters assembled to carry the royal luggage across the Banihal range stood at 30,000 men)."

Today travellers can land in the valley in less than two hours' air journey from Delhi or a mere 40 minutes hop from Pathankot which is linked up with Srinagar by 12 hours surface route.

1910—1960

Funerals which were universally mourned as witnessed by the author :—

(1) Pratap Singh—He was the third ruler in the line of Dogras. He was loved.

(2) Narendranath Kaul—He was Revenue Minister in Pratap Singh's time. He brought down food prices.

(3) Dr. A. Mitra—He was Home Minister in Pratap Singh's time. He promoted education and patronised local talent.

(4) Mir Waiz Maulvi Rasool Shah—He was the religious head of Muslims of Kashmir.

Notables of Kashmir

(1) Kangri (moving stove).
(2) Samawar (boiling tea kettle).
(3) Pulharo and Khrav (grass and wooden shoes).
(4) Goshtaba (meat dish).
(5) Floating land (orchard).
(6) Pheron (garment).
(7) Soofiana and Chhakri (Music).

These are products of indigenous culture. Wherefrom these have been borrowed and later developed is a subject of research.

Leaders of Freedom Movement Since 1921

Said-ud-Din Shawl.
Noor Shah Naqashband.
Mirwaiz Usuf Shah.
Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.
Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq.
Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg.
Maulvi Mohammad Sayed.
Sardar Budh Singh.
Shyam Lal Saraf (minus following)
Ghulam Abbas.

Writers and Journalists of Early Twenties Who Contributed to the Psychological Awakening of the Intelligentsia

Mohammad-ud-Din Foq	H
Jai Lal Kilam	P
Gwasha Lal Kaul	P
Prem Nath Bazaz	P
Anand Kaul Bamzai	L
Jai Lal Kaul Jalali	P
Shankar Lal Kaul	P

Rugh Nath Razdan	P
Prof. Jia Lal Kaul	L
Samsar Chand Kaul	N

(H-Historian, P-Politician, L-Literator, N-Naturalist).

Author's Personal Reminiscences

(Shared by none else)

Royal Commission has been announced. I am the Prime Minister. I have not been consulted at all.

—Sir Maharaj Singh

Maharaja has grown tired of me so much so that he even avoids me now.

—Sir K. N. Haksar.

There is no movement for propagation of Hindi which Government could patronise.

—Sir Gopalaswamy Ayyangar.

Rift between Abdullah & Yusuf Shah may save the Maharaja.

—Hari Kishan Kaul.

Tragedies like Wolur or Kanikot give a further lease of life to the Yuvak Sabha.

—Jia Lal Kilam.

My ambition of life is to become a Minister whether by backdoor or by frontdoor.

—S. N. Fotedar.

Kashmir may cause some headache.

—Sir B. N. Rao.

Nothing short of full responsible government under the aegis of Maharaja—before 1947 ; Limited accession—1953.

—S. M. Abdullrh.

If India is divided Kashmir could remain independent as before.

—R. C. Kak.

No time should be wasted to move out as the invader is knocking at our door.

—M. C. Mahajan.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah became a wedge in Muslim politics.

—Yusuf Shah.

Muslims of the State need pulling up.

—G. E. C. Wakefield.

Our Dogra army will fight unto the last.

—Janak Singh.

Hindu Raj should not go the way it has gone. Full integration is the only alternative.

—P. N. Dogra.

Musalman has a price of accession.

—G. M. Bakhshi.

"Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan"—is my ideal.

—Kashyap Bundhu.

"Views of foreigners were coloured".

—Karan Singh.

"New Kashmir is my Gita".

—S. L. Saraf.

Rise and Fall of Leaders Since 1931

1. Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah.
2. Prem Nath Bazaz.
3. Mohindar Singh.
4. Lok Nath Sharma.
5. Kashyap Bundhu.

President of India's Order on Kashmir—I & II

The President of India on May 14 issued an Order under Article 370 of the Constitution implementing the decision of the Jammu and Kashmir State Constituent Assembly on the constitutional relationship between the State and the Indian Union.

The Order which came into effect immediately fully covers the points included in the Delhi Agreement of 1952 except in regard to the Head of the State, provision relating to whom are to be embodied in the State Constitution.

Under the Order, Parts 1 to 3, 5 and 11 to 22 of the Constitution of India will be applied to Jammu and Kashmir with appropriate modifications. These relate to citizenship and fundamental rights, the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the Union and their powers, relation between the Union and the State, finance, trade, commerce and intercourse within the Union, elections to the Union legislative bodies etc.

In applying these parts of the Indian Constitution certain modifications have been made, in view of the special circumstances of the State and in implementation of the Delhi Agreement. To remove any apprehension that a closer union might prejudicially affect the interest of the permanent residents of the State, the State Legislature has been authorised to make laws safeguarding the interests of the permanent residents of the State in regard to matters like the acquisition of immovable property, settlement in the State and employment under the State Government.

The State Legislature has been given power to impose restrictions on the exercise of rights relating to freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations and unions and to move freely within the State as may be necessary to safeguard the security of the State, part of whose territory is now in occupation of an alien power; but this special authority would be available only for five years from Friday (May 14).

The Order makes provision to safeguard the land reforms effected in the State a few years ago.

The Supreme Court of India will exercise practically the same jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir as in other parts of the country. Besides being the guarantor of the fundamental rights the Supreme Court will have original jurisdiction under Article 131 of the Constitution and appellate jurisdiction in regard to civil and criminal cases. It will be the final judicial authority to interpret the Constitution.

The financial relationship as well as the allocation of taxation powers between the Centre and Jammu and Kashmir State will now be the same as those existing between the Central Government and other Part 'A' or Part 'B' States.

All the important provisions relating to the freedom of inter-State trade and commerce are being applied in full. As a result, customs duties levied by the State Government are being removed. Trade between the State and other parts of the Union will now be free and is expected to expand.

While the bulk of the Union list will be applicable, there are important exceptions, for example, the State will retain exclusive competence in regard to matters relating to industrial and mineral development, census and company laws.

Similarly, powers relating to the Constitution and organisation of the State High Court, its powers and jurisdiction are also matters within the exclusive competence of the State.

The Concurrent List will not also apply. Again, residuary authority vests in the State. These exceptions mark the special position accorded to the State within the constitutional framework.

The new order is called "The Constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954," and

supersedes a previous order of the same title issued in 1952 applying the provisions of the Constitution relating only to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications in respect of which the State acceded to the Union in 1947.

Article 370 under which the new comprehensive order has been issued, had left further extension of the Union's jurisdiction or the application of other parts of the Constitution to be made with the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly of the State.



CHAPTER XII

TRADE TREATY

Under the Treaty of 2nd May, 1870, between the British Government and the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, the British Government undertook to refund to His Highnes the Maharaja Bahadur the duties on all goods declared at ports in British India as bonded for Kashmir and to the importers duty on all such goods declared for Central Asia, on the Maharaja Bahadur's undertaking to return to free trade between Central Asia and British India through Kashmir exempt from taxation and restrictions of any kind. The following are the terms of the Treaty :—

Whereas in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of the trade with Central Asia, the following articles have, with this object, been agreed upon :-

Article I—With the consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British Frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the Changchaumo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the surveyors and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article II—Whichever route towards the Changchaumo Valley shall after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for the traveller and traders.

Article III—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article II, the enforcement of regulations that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or any Foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article IV—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road of a maximum width of two statute *kos*, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under Article I, shall demarcate on a map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds ; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession ; and subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as the other parts of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article V—The Maharaja agreed to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decision of the Commissioners and in preventing the breach of evasion of the regulation established under Article III.

Article VI—The Maharaja agreed that any person, whether a subject of British Government or of the

Maharaja or of the Ruler of Yarkand ; or of any Foreign State may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners and may provide, keep and maintain and let on hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article VII– The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots, and to authorise other persons to establish such places on the road as may appear to them suitable ; and fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and others, and fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest houses or *serais* that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kulu etc., and officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the Indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article VIII—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway ; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls or other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.



CHAPTER XIII

LEASE OF GILGIT

Agreement between the British Government and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, Inder Mohinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I.E., M.C. in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Freeman-Thomas, Earl of Willingdon P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh aforesaid. It is hereby agreed as follows :—

Article I—The Viceroy and Governor-General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province (herein after referred to as the "said territory") of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article II—In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, on Baisakhi, Dussehra, Basant Panchami and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Excellency the Viceroy and Gvernor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article III—In normal circumstances no British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion

of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article IV—All rights pertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases will be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article V—This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratificatian and the lease will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March, 1935.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

We study from the history of the past that the Kashmiris were no aboriginies living in mere jungle. Their jungle was the sacred land to which the scholars of the world paid homage. Even to the present day the sacred city of Banaras—the Hindu Rome of India—acknowledges the intellectual superiority of Kashmir. Every boy there walks seven paces towards Kashmir at the time when his thread ceremony takes place. Alberuni* (1017-1030 A.D.) says that Banaras and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu Science. It is Kashmir that produced the greatest historians, poets and philosophers. "The country once enjoyed great fame as the seat of the original paradise of the human race and was in earliest time one of the principal seats of Indian culture." The Kashmiris of today descend from the mighty sages of the past who have left behind a rich legacy, not in the shape of jewels and palaces, but more valuable than them in the shape of "Books : Venus : Books". It is the Kashmiris who always became the intellectual masters of every power that subjugated their country.

Kashmir was too deeply rooted in its tradition to wither away under the storm of foreign conquest. The old ascetic life has survived the shock of as many centuries of alien tyrannical rule. The people have known prosperity, poverty, religious strife, wars with invaders, shocks of earthquakes, floods, mines, plagues and pestilences. Even the royal holiday-makers were no exception to such shocks. Shah Jahan himself once took shelter in a fisherman's boat to save himself from the rushing torrent. Such are the Kashmiris, the mighty sons of their mighty sires.

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*Elsewhere he says, 'No one is admitted to Kashmir now except Jews. Even formerly accredited persons alone were admitted . . . The Sindh rises in the Kalarjak mountain where you reach through Gilgit where live the Bhutta Turks. Their King is called Bhutta Shah.' (This shows that these Turks were Hindus and Gilgit according to Sir George Grierson still shows traces of Vedic civilization and language).

The account recorded in these few pages is only a brief review of an interval of about five to seven thousand years. The boys now reading history at school will find a surprise as they will grow up but the lessons of history will not have been wasted if they learn the value of studying the past impartially.

The Kashmiri race which has survived the rude shocks of history comes from one stock, inherit one culture and speak one common tongue. Religion has played a small part in their daily life. Under foreign rule they lost martial instinct, but they retained their gifted intelligence which is exhibited by their art and crafts. They figured in literature, medicine, arts and crafts, sculpture, music, painting, calligraphy and what not. Here are a few names :—Habba Khatun, Mulla Mohsin Fani, Mohd. Azam Hassan Shah, Lal Ded (1342-45), Mahjoor, Parmanand, Ghani and now Arif, Nadim, Masterji etc., etc.

They of course stand little comparison to Kashmiris who made a mark in poetry, philosophy, drama, medicine, theology, even sexual science etc. before the 12th century. Degeneration and demoralisation came as people started adjusting themsalves from time to time to this clique or that clique that gained power temporarily.



CHAPTER XV

CHARACTER OF THE KASHMIRIS*

Kashmiris have easy and pleasant lives. In time of danger they show much courage and endurance. Physically they are among the finest people on earth. Their physique, their character and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality of its own. Intellectual superiority, keenness of preception, clearness of mind and ingenuity dominate their chracater. Alert intelligence, quick wit and artistic feeling show in them signs of a bright future. They are essentially of mild and cheerful disposition. Their versatile genius wins laurels for them everywhere. They are extermely hospitable and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Sir Francis Younghusband remarks "In spite of the splendid Moghuls, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras the Kashmiris ever remained the same." The conquerors came in hordes but they scarcely touched the soul of the people. Says Bernier, "Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In Poetry and science they are no inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious." It is possible for a people to deteriorate under foreign yoke and that is why a Kashmiri did not mind to speak a lie sometimes. Men and women generally dress alike. The Pheran**, a long loose gown, is the principal item of their dress. This helps to breed cowardice in them. Without it they look like a fine race. Untouchability between the two sister communities is quite unknown. However you may annoy him, the Kashmiri will never attempt to offend you. To provoke his neighbour is

* Bulk of this Chapter is taken from an article headed "Character of the Kashmiris" by the author which appearod in the *United India and Indian States* in 1923 A.D. (Published then from Madras).

** The Kashmiri Pandits have begun to discard it now along with other social evils. It is held that the Kashmiris adopted it from the Jews. Just as they picked up other traits from them. Pheron and Kangri are also traced to Badshah's time. Kangri (Scaldino) is borrowed from Italians according to Dr. Elmslie but is is mentioned in Rajtarangini also (iii, 171).

not in his scheme. Recent events have shown that the Kashmiris are not timid. The isolation from the outer world accounted for the stable unchanging nationality of the Kashmiris till Pratap Singh's reign." Cunningham says that "Kashmiris are the most immortal race of India."

Says Dr. Neve : "On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish between right and wrong". As recorded in the Rucat-i-Alamgiri-Aurangzeb is believed to have said at Agra : "The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in Public offices." Writes Dr. Neve of the Pandits elsewhere. "Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehensions and have good memories. One of their besetting faults is conceit. But some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clear headed and industr ious." A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of most superior order in every respect. "The Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice which accounts for their intelligence. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not (beard looks rare now). Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre- Mohammedan as we have already seen from Kalhana's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a King."

The following passages from "The India We Served" by Sir W. R. Lawrence who worked in Kashmir for some time will be read with great interest. "The Kashmiris are called Hawabin. Nowhere in the East have I met anybody of men so clever and so courteous as the Kashmiri Pandits...... The people were Kashmiris as they are, in spite of centuries' of repression and wanton cruelty. Physically they were splendid, in spite of the effeminate dress which foreign tyrants had

imposed on them. As cultivators, as artisans and as artists they are unrivalled in the East and for brains the Kashmiri Pandit is hard to beat, as all India knows well. They are to be found in many provinces of British India and in the Indian States in the higher ranks of officialdom. And I say after careful examination that the Kashmiris are perhaps as great a people as any in the East...... But they will beat all three—Rajputs, Pathans and Punjabis as cultivators, as artisans or as wits. I saw also the growth of self-respect and of manliness and am confident that under a just Government they will win a good name. They not only know the facts but had the most surprising genius for appraising the real value of other men's lands. They supported their valuation by most logical and convincing arguments and during my 21 years in India I have never met the equal of these Kashmiri sages".

"The type of the old Pandits—these literati, were, to be sure, excellent people and admirably versed in their Sanskrit texts but they were devoid of historical sense and their intellectual horizon was bounded by the narrow limits of their native valley........., but the race possessed exceptional intellectual qualities".—Prof. A. Foucher.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his book "History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, 1924 edition, page 415," writes :—"So backward were the people in civilisation that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were deemed unfit to be employed in the Imperial Service as Mansabdars, till near the end of Aurangzeb's reign." We learn that it was only in 1699 that the Emperor was first induced by the then Subedar to appoint people of Kashmir as Mansabdars in any appreciable number...... No Kashmiri Hindu gained any office under the Moghul Empire. And as for the common Muslims of the province if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages, and townsmen as lying flatterers and cowardly cheats. In this universal closing of honourable and responsible careers to talent, the intellectual cleverness of certain classess of the natives developed

into glibness of tongue, low cunning and skill in treacherous intrigue so that in Moghul India a Kashmiri came to be a by-word for a smooth spoken rogue as the Gracculus was in the early days of the Roman Empire." Prof. Sarkar says that this account is based on Tarikh-i-Azmi. How this observation is misleading may be studied from the following quotation :— Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to the intelligence of the Kashmiris specially that of the Pandits at Agra as is recorded in the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri :—"Kashmiri darin mulk nestand ki ma muqqarar kunem" (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

Sir Walter again writes :—"A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellow-men, and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twist them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent and fair honest man".

Roughly speaking from 13th to 19th Century the Kashmiri Pandit was reduced to the position of a surf. From high intellectual plane he moved to earth and became practically earthly. He tilled land, digged graves, became a tailor, *chikanduz*, mason, carpenter, petty shopkeeper and what not. His surival was a miracle. His poverty could he seen in his kitchen which boasted of some utensils of clay that could not he replaced even on festival days. With the change in administration he seized some petty jobs. This further aggravated his situation. He came under the vicious influence of *Khandani* and *Kamina*. He gave up his profession and became a parasite. Vices overpowered him which prevented him from rising into full manhood even with the spread of modern education. But he was not always what he appears to be now. He is a subject for study.

With the change over in administration in 1947 his position was again reversed. He was driven 125 years backwards. Though obviously acute un-employment did not eat him up as before he became cripple morally, politically and economically. It is doubtful if the old ideal will survive the present rude shock which civilisation has received in this revolution.

The Muslim, on the other hand, did all sorts of jobs and that is why he is growing into full manhood in the changed circumstances.



CHAPTER XVI

FABRIC OF SOCIETY IN KASHMIR AS DEPICTED IN RAJTARANGINI

Religion :—Historians maintain that the real history of Kashmir begins with the reign of Asoka. Buddhism went on its way side by side with Hinduism. There was no religious antipathy which often leads to persecution. It some times happened that while the father adhered to one faith the son adhered to another (iii 2 and 99). Sometimes kings and their ministers also professed different faiths (iii 350 and 380). Grants of land to temples, Brahmins and monasteries were immense but either diverted or confiscated (iv 395, v 170, vi 175, vii 106, 570, 696 and 1344, viii 2755).

Atheists also there existed many. For instance, Kalhana narrates how the king's cousin came to the king with a grievance against his own son who wanted to oust him (vii 252). Again Harsha would not have succeeded in his way had there been a really unanimous adverse public opinion (vii 1090).

Caste :—There was no caste system during the reign of Asoka, Kanishka, Jashka and Hashka (i. 170). Even if it did exist it was not so rigid as at present. Brahmins, however, seem to have existed as a distinct caste (i. 342, iv 96 and 645).

References to caste commenced from Chandrapida. Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant (iv 37). A tanner who prayed for an interview with the king calls himself a pariah (iv 76). The Prime Minister of Lalitaditya was a Mongolian and a Buddhist (iv 211). A glimpse of Kayasthas may be had from (iv 621, vii 38 and viii 2383). Chandals, i.e., men of impure caste, are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (iv 475). They worked as watchmen and scavengers (v 74, vi 76 and 192 v 77). A reference to Vaishas may be found in the accounts of the

eleventh century. Often persons of low caste rose to highest positions (vii 207, v 73, iv 672, viii 3423, 2429, vii 1460 v. 383). Once a Prime Minister of Jayasinha treated 64 castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (viii 2407).

The first three books of Rajtarangini make no reference to Rajputs or Kshatriyas. Jayapida gave himself out to be a Rajput and won a beautiful bride. Rajputs are not again mentioned till eleventh century. The army sent by king Trilokapala against Mahmud of Ghazni consisted of many Rajputs (vii 48). We also find four arrogant Rajput princes at the court of the Kashmir king (vii 274). From that time the number increased (vii 325, 360 and 368). Seldom did Kashmir tolerate non-Kashmiris (viii 1328)*. The word "Ksh atriya" first appears as applied to king Harsha of Kashmir and so then to Bhoja, Prince Sangiva, Lanaraja and so on (viii 376, 3031, 3232, 3348, 1190 and 1191).

Though there existed some castes yet the great mass of population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation. The process of differentiation was there but it never reached anything like the rigidity of caste system as displayed in modern India (vi 130).

Institutions of Government :—Up to Asoka's time there were seven main State officials : the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest and the Astrologer. Asok's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (i 118). Lalitaditya appointed five princes to supervise these officials (iv 141). These posts did not become generally hereditary.

There were regular law cases. Sometime the king tried himself (vi 14 and vii 123). People dissatisfied with law courts or with executive actions used to go out on hunger strike (just as in Japan) and commit suicide.

The king maintained regular spies or informers

* The State Subject's Definition passed in 1927 is a testimony to this.

(the present C.I.D.) to give him all news of interest (v 81, viii 511, vi 14 and vi 82). Mention of hunger strikes is made in vii 939, vii 658, 900, 2224 and 2225, vi 602. King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if anyone killed himself by hunger-strike he would himself commit suicide (viii 51). Deeds of sale were executed in writing.

Sometimes people were banished for forgery (vi 30, 38, 41). Interest was rarely paid (viii 155). The head of a family was taken to task for the immoral conduet of a woman (viii 3336). Universities and hospitals existed everywhere (iii 461, vi 87). City prefects only amassed money in the time of a mean king. It is seldom that they introduced useful reforms (vi 70, vii 3335 and 3336). We find that the institution of *begar* (forced labour) also existed (v 174, vii 2513, vii 1088). The land revenue was collected in kind through the Patwari (v 175, iv 628). Jayapida and rulers of his way of thinking often took the whole grain from the people (iv 628, 347, 631, vii 1107). Yet there were benevolent rulers also who issued grain at cheap rates from the State granaries to relieve distress (vii 61).

Finance :—Collection of the revenue was on the whole irregular (iv 189, vii 3335). Tolls were levied on the bridges (viii 136) and customs were collected at the fortified Frontier Posts. King's name in red lead was stamped on goods which had paid customs (viii 2010).

Army :—Infantry and cavalry composed the Army (v. 248). Passes were strongly fortified and jealously guarded under Dwarapati or Warden of the Marches. It was the general policy in those days to see that people got no opportunity to rise against their rulers (iv 345, 346, 347, 348, 349-52). But this policy did not ultimately succeed as can be seen from the rise of the Domaras.

Customs and Habits :—Pardah was quite unknown.

Sati was almost in fashion (v 226, xiii 448, 1223-24, vii 858, 1380, 103, 481, 724, 478, 1486, 1579, vi 107, viii 445 and 1441) much more in royal families than among the masses. Drinking spirit was held respectable among high class people (vii 1466, iv 310, v 206, vi 10150, vii 285, viii 868 and 1866). Cats and dogs were kept as pets (viii 139, 2413). Famines were due to isolation, internal commotions and freaks of nature such as floods, drought etc.

A disease called the Luta disease was much dreaded. Exhibitions of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages were amusements of the people (vii 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting ; throwing spears were used (vi 181). Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were netters (vi 182). Falcons were kept (vii 1064). People used to bow to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes (viii 798). The art of gold plating on copper was introduced in the latter half of eleventh century (vii 529 viii 3364).



CHAPTER XVII

PHENOMENA IN KASHMIR

There are many places and things in Kashmir which are peculiar in themselves and some of them quite beyond ordinary human comprehension. The orthodox Hindus, taking them as divine manifestations, worship them while others consider that they are merely nature's phenomena.

1. *Amarnath*—The celebrated cave of Amarnath situated in a long glacial gorge high among the eastern mountains is visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims from Kashmir and different parts of India on the full Moon Day of the months of Sawan (July-August) every year. It contains a self-formed Lingam of ice (the emblem of Siva) which increases and decreases with the waxing and the waning of the moon.

For this reason the cave is visited on a full moon day. It is sending out an irresistible call to the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims from the remotest corners of India who crawl up this height year after year. Some say that the Lingam is simply the stalactite, and stalagmite described fully in books on Geology. These are icicle like incrustations of lime, chalcedony, etc., which often cover the roofs of caverns and fissures which arise from the dropping water holding these rock matters in solution. Columns of these solid matter collect, rise and expand and in course of time become hard stone. They are found in many countries of the world including England. But these things are entirely different from the substance of the Lingam in the Amarnath cave. This Lingom is not impregnated with any matter but it is composed of simply pure water turned into ice. Nor is it an ice spring, as some say, for on Amavas day the ground on which it stands is found dry. There is of course gypsum in the cave but it does not form the ingredient of the ice Lingam. The water is thawing from the roof but it does not fall on the Lingam. This ice Lingam waxes and wanes

with the moon stated above which has been observed by several reliable persons who have stayed at Panchtarni (6 miles this side of the cave) for a full month and have from there visited the cave daily. Had this Lingam been stalactite and stalagmite, many geologists and specially non-Hindus should have raised their derisive voice and they should have made this fact known to the world long long ago. On the contrary, this phenomenon is considered wonderful by not only Indian philosophers including men like Swami Vivekananda who says in his book that he was all ecstacy on seeing it but also by European scientists aware of the formation of rock matters in caves and fissures. In fact, had this been the case in regard to Amarnath the cave should have been filled up by the sediments ages ago.

This pilgrimage is mentioned in Book 1,267 of the Rajtarangini in the accounts of the King Nara who reigned in Kashmir in 1048-1008 B.C., which proves that even before the time of Kalhana, the author of the book who lived in the 12th century of the Christian Era, it was annually visited by pilgrims.

2. *Tulmula in Lar* :—There is a spring at this village, the water of which changes colour every now and then. Sometimes it is pink, sometimes green and so on. The Hindus worship there. A large fair is held at this place on the 8th and 15th day of the bright fortnight specially of Jeth (May-June).

3. *Takar in Uttarmachipura* :—There is a spring the water of which like the Tulmula spring changes colour every now and then.

4. *Trisandhya or Sunderbrari* :—This is the name of an intermittent spring in the south of the Divalgam village in Brang. It remains dry all the year round except in the month of Baisakhi-Jeth (April-May). At first the water flows out continuously for some days as from an ordinary spring and then it does so at intervals, that is to say, the spring becomes quite void of water

and again the water re-appears and flows out. This intermittance occurs several times in twenty-four hours until in course of time the number of ebb and flow gradually dwindles down to three and then to nine. A Persian poet has written the following couplet describing this spring :—

Turfa aini hast do Kashmir namish sand brar,
Amdu rafte ajab dard ba rox wa shab sah hal.

5. *Rudra Sandhya* :—This is also a spring like Trisandhya, dry during the whole year but flowing with water continuously for some days and then getting void of it at intervals during the months of Baisakh and Jeth (April-May). It is six miles from Verinag towards the west.

6. *Wasuknag* :—This is a large spring, six miles further west from Rudra Sandhya. It remains quite dry for six months of winter but flowing with water (which forms a big stream irrigating large area) for six months of summer.

7. *Pawanasandhya* :—There is a spring of this name situated five miles to the east of Verinag. It ebbs and flows continuously as though it breathes Pavana or air like a living creature ; hence its name. A fair is held there on the Amavas day of Bhadun. A Persian poet describes it in the following couplet :—

Chashmai digar ba Kashmir ast mamish pona sand,
Hast har dam wa raftash cbu anflas rajal.

8. *Sapta-Rishi* :—There are seven springs close to one another at Vithavatur near Verinag, which like Nasuknag, remain dry for six months of winter and flowing with water during summer months.

9. *Halamatpura in Uttarmachhipura* :—There are five springs near one another. A Lingam of stone is in one of these springs which is said to move by itself round making one move from one corner to the other in one month. Some people explain this as below :—

The bed of the spring is sandy and its level varies with the action of water-oozing which makes one corner higher and the other lower alternately, and thus the Lingam (which does not stand vertical but is lying in a horizontal position) in the bed of the spring rolls down from the higher to the lower corner under the law of gravitation.

10. *Dubjan in Shopian* :—There is a spring called Tatadan, the water of which is warm. A similar spring exists at a place 68 miles from Anantnag across the Margan Pass.

11. *Brang* :—There is a spring at the village Gagar-Tahunda (10 miles from Anantnag towards Verinag) above Larikpora which is called Konnag by the Mohammadans and Sita-Kund by the Hindus. Some of the fish therein are blind in one eye.

12. *Lar* :—There is a lofty mountain called Haramukh in Lar. The popular notion is that a snake within sight of this mountain will not bite.

13. There is a cave temple called Dyaneshwar on a hill 12 miles to the east of Bandipura, above Sinthan village in the Arin Nulla, in which there are stone forms like the teats of cow on its ceiling from which water drops down below. It is reached through a narrow passage about a yard in diameter and two chains long. There is a self-formed Lingam in it.

14. There is a cave at Bamzu to the north of Mattan, the length of which none has yet been able to find. Another similar cave exists at Beru in which the famous ascetic and philospher, Abhinava Gupta together with his 1,200 disciples, is said to have entered and to have not returned.

15. There is a place called Swambhu or Suyam, half-a-mile to the south-west of the village Nichiham, in Machhipura, where after a long period, say once in 30 years, the earth gets heated for a year or so when the Hindus go there on pilgrimage. Rice with water in pots buried to neck into the earth gets cooked by

this heat and the Hindus offer cakes of rice, thus cooked, in the name of their deceased relations. A flame is also produced by pouring down ghee, sugar and camphor in a hole dug into the earth about a foot deep. This is evidently a volcanic phenomenon.

16. There is a tiny little island in the midst of the Jhelum, at Prayag on the junction of the Sindh with the Jhelum, on which is a small Chinar which does not either grow taller or bigger though ages have passed since when it has been there.

17. Wayyan Village (Wular) :—11¾ miles to the southeast of Srinagar. There is a spring bathing in which has the effect of curing itch. There is also a similar spring at Anantnag, called Malknag and also at Sadar-qutabal, 22 miles from Srinagar on the Bandipur road. Medical men say that they are sulphurated hydrogen springs.

18. There is a spring on the top of the Sarbal mountain in Kashmir which is called Tsurnag. The water of this gushes out with great force, making whirls like the potter's wheel.

19. There is a rock on the top of the hillock called Haldar, over-looking the Mansabal Lake towards its northeast. It rises ½ mile above the shrine of Baba Saleh or 2½ miles above the lake.

The spot is called Maktaphikhar and is situated near the village called Ingura to the north of the Larkul Nallah. The ascent to it is over the plateau called Hanan. From underneath this rock a little water is oozing out. Every year on the Nirjala Ikadashi day a fair is held here. The pilgrims sing in one chorus "Balbadra Haldharo Palaponi Traw" meaning—O Balbadra Haldar, allow water to flow out from under this rock. Then suddenly water flows out in a large volume from underneath this rock which suffices for the bathing of the pilgrims assembled. At this spot there was a strange image of a cow from whose four teats water used to come out in drops. It is said that about

100 years ago this image was removed by the peasants of the neighbouring villages and buried somewhere under rocky earth nearby.

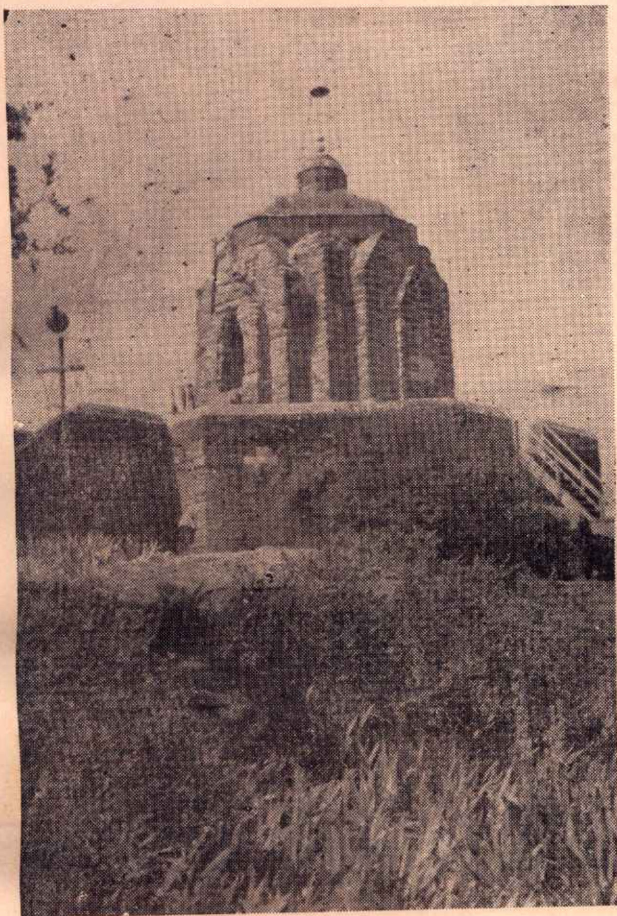
20. At Yaripura village, five miles to the north of Kulgam, a thick roundish somewhat flat-surfaced boulder not exceeding one maund in weight is lifted up by 11 Mohammadan priests standing in a circle round it, each holding it upon his right hand index finger while uttering the number 11.

21. At the village of Tulmula in the Lar Pargana, fish are caught from under the dry earth throughout the year. This village is situated on a riparian marshy land, having an inlet from the Sindh river. Fish reach there in flood water and burrow holes for themselves underneath the village surface. When the water recedes they get stranded in their burrows. They are afterwards caught as under :- A long pole with a hook fastened to its end is pricked into the soft earth to the depth of five or six yards and when pulled out five or six fish are found entangled in the hook. These are found in a languid condition, but when put in water, they resume respiration and move about.

22. There is a big yew tree at the village Halthal in the Yachh Pargana under whose shade large crowds of people can sit down. Notwithstanding its large size, even if a little branch of it is shaken, the whole tree, from its top down to its trunk, begins to shake. A Persian poet has written thus in regard to this tree :—

Ba niazeki badastash nabud nim darm
Tanash az faqa abariz chu darkhat halthal

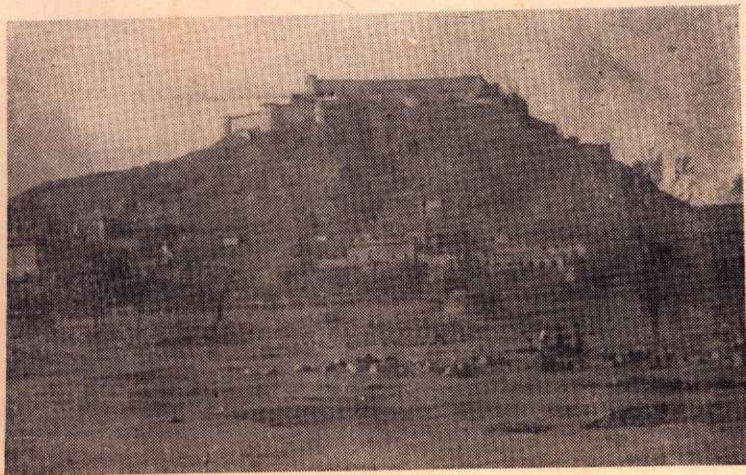




← Shankara Charya Temple

Hari Parba Fort





CHAPTER XVIII

MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR

It is after the rise of Buddhism that Hindus began to build temples. The Kashmir classical style is fundamentally different from any other style of Hindu architecture. Writes Sir A. Cunningham, "The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Gresian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temples, usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations."

"They cannot indeed vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lusicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own."

"The Kashmirian architecture is characterised by its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled door ways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercoluminations suited equally well to rainy and snowy climates. There is no doubt that the Kashmirian style was well-known to the Greeks. A Kashmirian pillar has a base, a shaft and a capital. The local architecture has also a stereotyped style. The trefoil arch of Kashmir is very original and interesting as may be seen from the remains of some old monuments."

Go wherever you may, you must meet with some old wonder. One wonders when he beholds an ancient

monument whose huge and massive constructions built in days of yore stand to this day as witnesses of a race of giants, un-equalled in the histories of chivalry, who once occupied this beautiful land. The reason is plain. The old architects built their temples solid. Their object was to construct imperishable abodes for their Gods to dwell in. They chose high ground as much as possible so as to avoid big floods. It must be remembered that in those days the river valleys were much more full of water than they are now and the forests also were very dense. Those ancestors have bequeathed a rich civilisation second only to the ancient Romans. A few such historical places are mentioned below with a short account that could be available.

Hari Parbat Fort

As traditions has it, Hari Parbat is the pebble which the sparrow goddess threw on the demon who had lived in Satisar. The demon was killed and water gave way to land. Akbar built the Hari Parbat Fort and the town of Nagar Nagar round it. Muslims later named it Kohe Maran.

Hari Parbat stands on the Dal Lake itself and is located in the centre of the city. Apart from its monumental value it is a symbol of secularism. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs have shrines round it.

Shankaracharya Temple.

"The mountainous portal that opens,
Sublime from the Valley of bliss to the world".

The Temple on the top of Shankaracharya Hill* once called Gopadri is supposed to have been built by

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*Muslims named it Takhte Suleman. Suleman was the son of King David and Queen Sheba who sat on the royal throne of Ethiopia in 980 B.C. Suleman is the Kashmiri version of Solomon.

How he came to be associated with Kashmir about one thousand years before Christ is a subject for research.

Sandiman 2629-2564 B.C. and later on repaired by Gopaditya 426-365 B.C. and Lalitaditya 699-736 A.D. According to another authority Jaloka built it in 220 B.C. Some assign to it the date 300 B.C., but this is generally considered inaccurate. Others mention the year 300 A.D., as the probable date of its construction. Tradition says that the Lingam was placed inside the temple by a goldsmith named Raja Hishti in the year 54 of the Hindu era.

An inscription quotes the name of Khwaja Rokm, son of Mirjan, in connection with its origin. Sikandar, The Iconoclast, did not raze it to the ground because he thought (erroneously) that Mahmud Ghazni might have read prayers in it. The temple commands a fine view of the city that lies prostrate at its foot. Even in such a land of precious stones of architecture the Shankaracharya remains a gem of the first water.

The Pari Mahal (Kash-i-Mah).

This is the 'fairy palace'. Tradition has it that Prince Dara Shikoh designed it for his tutor Mulla Shah and named it after his wife Pari Begum. Another authority says that it was once used for astronomical observations by the Moghul Kings. It stands on an isolated crag and with almost perpendicular sides towards the top. The Pari Mahal has stood for centuries, wheather-worn, sad, alone and untenanted which proves that the *Paries* (fairies) have it in their possession but where are they ?

Look on its broken arch ! Its ruined wall !
Its chambers desolate and portals foul :
Yes this was once Ambition's airy hall
The Dome of Thought, the Palace of Soul.

—Lord Byron.

The massive building has a domed ceiling. The retaining wall is ornamented with a series of arches.

The Temple of Payech.

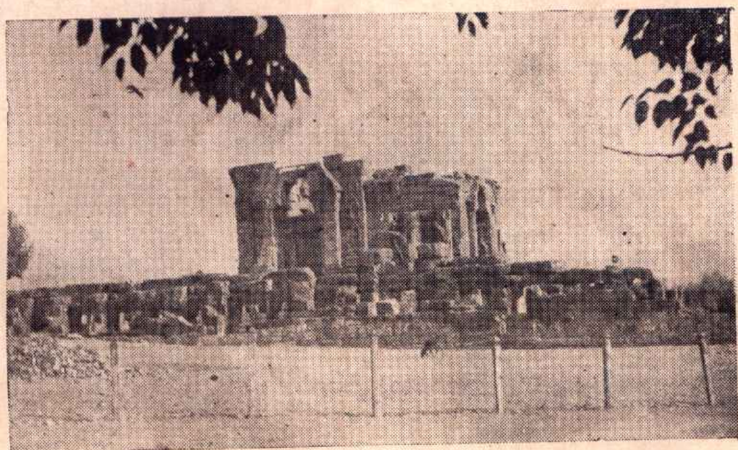
The sloping knoll on which it stands, the cool shade of a clump of walnut trees close by, the glimpses of a village seen through the trees behind and cheerful brook running at the foot of the slope, form a charming setting to a building which would be dwarfed by a scenery of a grander scale. The temple built of ten stones only, now in ruins, seems to be of long standing. Archaeologists do not definitely estimate its exact date. And who built it that also is not exactly known ?

The Temple of Pandrethan.

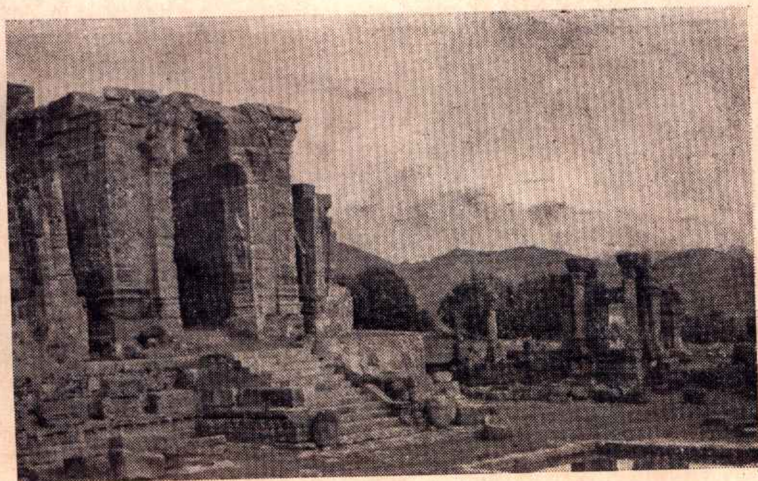
This temple has one of the largest moats. Cunningham says that it was probably built in 921 A.D. by Meru during the reign of King Partha. Round it once spread the old capital of Kashmir when none but the Aryans lived here. It was also once Asoka's Srinagar. The domed roof of the temple is fine piece of sculpture. There are series of arches in the retaining wall.

Avantipura.

The archaeologists are of opinion that the temples 174′ × 148′ here were built in the 9th century by King Avantivarman who had his capital 18 miles away from present Srinagar. The balconies alternate angular and rounded flutting set off the natural contrasts of massive stones of which they are built. Nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than this deserted city, the silent witness of a vanished dream. It still stands with its long circuit, its bastioned gates, its wonderful palaces, peerless in the whole Hindustan for its noble design and delicate adornment. Its carvings stand as they stood in Avantivarman's time but now a body without a soul. Ruinate it has remained ever since, desolate and abandoned. No later ruler of Kashmir has even aspired to dwell in Avantivarman's Versailles. The two temples known as Avanti Swamin and Avanti Sura were dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva.



Avantivarman Temple (Avintipur)



Ruins Martand Temple

Sumbal.

About one mile from the bridge over the Jhelum on the left bank is Andarkoth, the former capital of Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya. Kuta Rani, the last Hindu Queen of Kashmir, is said to have committed suicide here (1339 A.D.).

The Temple of Martand.

The date of this temple is favoured to be 8th century by some Archaeologists. Cunningham places its date between 370-500 A.D. But Ferguson does not admit its foundation before the 8th century. Roughly speaking it is between 2,000 and 1,500 years old. The temple of Martand appears to be the ruins of a grand old temple 63 feet long enclosed in a quadrangle of columns and arches forming cloisters all round it. It is about 200 feet long and 142 feet broad. There are about 84 carved pillars many of which lie prostrate on the ground. Martand with its beauty in desolation has stirred the Poet's vision of a Heber and compelled the homage of the wisest critics of Indian art. It is a dream in stones designed by Titans and finished by Jewellers. It only needed a glass case. Its architecture is fairer than the site of the Parthenon, or of the Taj or of St. Peter, or of the Escurial. This temple with a mighty tradition behind it is now the lonely watcher on the mountain side. It alone had the strength to stand a huge blazing fire that could burn cities. The temple exists still but its designer and destroyer are no more. Certainly it is not less imposing than Persepolis.

Patan

There are ruins of two very fine temples attributed to King Shankaravarman 883-902 A.D. and his queen Sugandha who flourished in the 9th century.

Ruins at Wangat

"These are of steep wilderness whose airy sides
With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied, and overhead up grew,

Inseparable height of loftiest shade, cedar, pine and fir."

Distance lends enchantment to this place—an enchantment which baffles the novelist. Nothing precisely can be said as to the date of its origin or its founder.

Bijbihara

A high and isolated *Kareva* lies at a couple of miles from Bijbihara. Here is visible the site of one of the oldest and most famous temples of Kashmir which was occupied by crowds of refugees and soldiers during the civil wars of king Sussala's time. The wooden ramparts were set on fire by the besiegers from which ensued a terrible holocaust. This sacred place gets its name from the temple of Shivavijayeshwara. A bridge over the Jhelum was in existence here in the 16th century. A fine grove of chinar trees, the remains of a garden planted by the unfortunate prince Darashikoh, is still visible on each bank of the river.

Shah-e-Hamdan

Kutab-ud-Din demolished the temple of Kaleshwari and built the present Sheh-e-Hamdan mosque (after Syed Ali Hamadani who came from Hamdan in Persia towards the end of the fourteenth century and converted a large section of the people to Islam) with its material. Hasan Shah and Barkat Ali rebuilt the mosque in 1479 A.D. and 1731 A.D. respectively. A spring dedicated to Kali is still believed to exist inside the mosque. The reputed walking stick of Christ kept in this mosque is exhibited on rear occasions. The hall is 63′×43′. Shah Hamdan's death is given as 786 Hijri, corresponding to 1384 A.D.

Pathar Masjid.

Nur Jahan built this mosque for offering prayers in it. The Sunnis had abandoned it since because she belonged to Shia sect. It remained under the State control and was restored back to the Muslims in 1931.

Jamia Masjid.

Sikandar 1390-1415 A.D. demolished the temple built by Taradeva 693-697 A.D. and out of its material he constructed a huge mosque now known as Jamia Masjid. It was first built in 1404 A.D. and afterwards rebuilt in the year 1479, 1619, 1674, 1841 and 1912 A.D.

Hazrat Bal.

The Zairat at Hazratbal* on the Dal Lake is visited by thousands of Muslims on Fridays. It is here that the famous feast of roses is celebrated every spring.

Badshah Dome.

Inside the dome there is a grave sheltering of the mother of Zain-ul-Abdin (1421-1472 A.D.). The plinth of the dome is the plinth of an old temple.

Harwan.

A temple and some tablets have been unearthed during recent excavations at Harwan which look like the oldest mountain monuments as belonging to the Kushan period when Kashmir was closely connected with Central Asia. Nagarjuna, the philosopher, held Buddhist congregations here.

Tapar.

Archaeological finds were discovered at Tapar in 1942 revealing a temple 62′ × 10′ built by Pratapaditiya of the Karkuta dynasty. Certain inscriptions lead to the finding that repairs were made by a Brahmin named Gogga whose father Jagaraja lived in the reign of Pamanda, Jayasinha's son in (1157 A.D.).

Narasimha Temple at Devasar.

This temple has a basement 30′ square and nearly 3′ high. The portico is 15′ × 11′. It looks having been built in the 12th century.

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* How Christ's hair exhibited on rare occasions came here is a matter for research. Tradition has it that Christ was buried here.

Kshema Gaurishwara.

Kshema Gupta 850-858 A.D. is stated to have built this temple.

Didha Matha.

It is now the tomb of Malik Sahib. The queen of Kshema Gupta built a temple here.

Narpristan.

The edifice at Narparistan is attributed to Lahna Narendraditya 178-191 A.D.

Mahashri.

It is now a graveyard. Pravarsena II is supposed to have built temple here.

Skandabhawan.

It was probably built by Skanda Gupta, Minister of Yudhisthra 11—139-178 A.D.

Lokhrigar.

The shrine at Lokhrigar is attributed to Pravarsena II.

Sadahawashri.

It is now the Ziarat of Pir Haji Mohammad. Praversena II is supposed to have built a temple here.

Rameshwara.

Rameshwara now the Ziarat of Madin Sahib is ascribed to Ranaditya 414-474 A.D.

Amritabhawana.

The shrine is attributed to Amritaprabha Queen of Meghvahana 22 B.C.

Vikrameshwara.

This holy place is attributed to Vikramaditya 521-553 A.D.

Bandi.

The temple at Bandi belongs either to the Hindus or to the Buddhists. It was built in about 700 A.D.



Shah-e-Hamdan Mosque on the Jhelum

Bhunyar.

The temple at Bhunyar dedicated to the goddess Bhawani was built probably in the fifth century.

Fatehgarh.

The temple at Fatehgarh is of long standing. Maharaja Ranjit Singh built his Fort here.

Temples at Shri Narayantha, built by Narendraprabha, Queen of Prattapaditya II (634-684 A.D.), Tribhavana Swami built by Chandrapida (684-693 A.D.), Vikrameswara near Vicharnag built by Vikramaditya (521-563 A.D.), Vishnu Ranaswamin built by the Queen of Ranaditya, Sabhava Shri Pravarsena II, Khrew (Pampur) built by Padma, Ladhnu, Kuil, Payar built by Narendraditya (483-490 A.D.), Naristhan Lokbhavan built by Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.), Bumzu, Mamal, Sangam near Amburhar built by Queen Suryamyti (1028-86 A.D.), Thiun Rarannag built by Jaluka(1394-34 B.C.), Narendraditya (308-273 B.C.) and Lalitaditya, Andarkot built by Jayapida (753-84 A.D.), Mosques or or Ziarats (I) Ali Masjid built by Ali Shah, brother of Zain-ul-Abdin, in 1397 A.D. (2) Akhun Mullah Shah (3) Hassanabad built by Shias in the time of Akbar (4) Pantachuk built by Hubba Khatun, wife of Yusuf Chak (1578-1584 A.D.) deserve only a brief notice.



CHAPTER XIX

KASHMIR IN THE EYES OF FOREIGNERS

"You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kashmir. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains even as far as Tartary and over the whole of Hindustan, to the Island of Ceylon. It is not indeed without reason that the Moghuls call Kashmir the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, or that Akbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hands of its native princes"—Bernier.

"Abdulla Khan invaded and occupired Kashmir in 1747 A.D. He introduced a queer and irksome administration. There arose a great hue and cry among the people against his illegal exactions his high-handed measures and the deceit and pillage which were practised under his rule. Treasure and secreted wealth of gold and silver, stores of carpets and silver and golden articles, which the Moghuls had maintained in the country, were taken possession by him for his personal use. He exacted heavy fines and indemnities from the big merchants and respectable gentry of the country. Once some of his minions branded a leading person of the country with red-hot sword. Unable to bear the torture, this man succumbed to his injuries. Abdulla Khan richly rewarded the perpetrators of this cruelty. Quazi Khan, another respectable citizen, was forced to pay a fine of one lakh of rupees and yet his son was subjected to inhuman harassment. Unable to stand this brutality, the young man sought escape in suicide and jumping from the Zainakadal bridge, drowned himself in the River Jhelum.

"After Amir Khan, Haji Karimdad Khan Bamzai

came at the head of the Government of Kashmir in 1776. He appointed Mir Fazil Kant in charge of revenue and administrative work. After a few months he accused Kant of neglecting the collection of revenue and ordered his execution. Along with this all the members of the Kant tribe were destroyed. Karimdad Khan also got displeased with Tarkuli Khan and got him executed too. A rope was tied to his feet and he was kept suspended by the feet under the Habakadal bridge till he died.

"Throughout the reign of Karimdad Khan the entire countcy remained plunged in absolute misery and fear. During this period everybody, high or low, rich or poor, was fleeced of all he possessed. He ruined the chastity of a thousand girls of both Hindu and Muslim communities and thus ruined their lives for ever. He exacted such heavy taxes and duties from Mansabdars and Jagirdars, as exceed by far the value of their possessions. All these people were reduced to utter penury. Many of them chose to dispose of their possessions and migrate from the country. He appointed the most heartless people to collect taxes from the people. Heavy fruit tax was imposed on zamindars. Since they could not meet this heavy demand, they cut down their fruit trees and sold the wood to meet the demand of the Government. In this way all the beautiful gardens in the city and rural areas, and particularly those which had been planted by the Moghuls around the Dal Lake, were denuded of all fruit trees. The lambardars and nobility were reduced to dust by the heavy exactions made from them by the Subedar. It is said that one of the tax collectors named, Aslam Harkara, was blind in both eyes, and so he sued to go in a Palki from place to place to collect taxes. He treated the people most cruelly. People were reduced to such destitution that, robbed of their hearths and homes, they had to lie on the bare ground under the open sky."—Hassan.

"At this time no less than 20,00,000 rupees are extracted by the Afghan Governor who, if his tribute be not regularly remitted to Court, is allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence. This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the department and manners of the Kashmirians who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppression and are fearful of making any display of opulence......... During my stay in Kashmir, I often withnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet, common weapon of the Afghans, and used by them in war as a battle-axe".—Forster (1783).

"As we advanced, Surat Singh was assailed by many clamorous appeals from the crowd and hands were stretched out, and cries addressed to us, praying for our interferenee to save the inhabitants from starvation. An order, it appeared, had recently emonated from Raja Ranjit Singh prohibiting the sale of any of this year's crop of rice, until a deficit of 5 lakhs (500,000 rupees) in the revenue of the preceding year had been discharged".—Moorecroft.

Elsewhere Moorecroft writes :—

"Everywhere the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitanly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers. The consequences of this system are the gradual depopulation of the country : not more than one-sixteenth of the cultivable soil is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan. In like manner the people of this city are rapidly thinning though less from emigration than poverty and disease ; the prevalence of the latter in its most aggravated form being fearfully extensive".

"I will give a singular instance of the effect of Sikh oppression. A model in deodar of a Kashmirian mosque was being made under my own superintendance, and which I contrived to bring safely to England. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade the man who was making it to come to me : and when he did come, he would make the most unaccountable mistakes in the simplest matters such, for instance, as not cutting the pillars of equal length. The Sikh *Sepahi* whom I sent to fetch him, would make him give him a few halfpence, for the honour of being called by him—would beat him if he did not come immediately and beat him afterwards if he complained to me ; and the reasons why he would not come were, first because he knew that what I paid him or at least a great part of it would probably be taken from him and what was worse, that having proved himself clever enough to satisfy an Englishman that he was an adept in his profession, he would ever afterwards he made to work by the Governor for little or perhaps no pay at all".—Vigne (1842).

"I continued to pursue my way on foot and alone my people having stayed to rest a little. I met a Kashmirian driving a fellow countryman before him. The poor fellow stopped every now and then and, in a pitiful tone, besought the other's compassion, but his entreaties were only answered by blows, I inquired what was the cause of the quarrel, but could not make out what they said; however, when Mirza Ahmad joined me, I learnt that the suppliant was a thief; the other, the owner of the stolen goods who had just apprehended him. The truth being known, the delinquent waited very humbly to hear what punishment I should decree. Meanwhile, some Sikh soldiers overtook us; the effect was instantaneous; the aggrieved party now stoutly maintained that he had nothing to complain of, the chief put his arms within that of his accuser. and in the amicable manner they hastily walked together. Mirza Ahmad complained to me that

a Kashmirian would put up with any wrong rather than seek redress from his Sikh master as he is invariably obliged to pay the judge high price for his decision without the slightest prospect of recovering his lost property".

—Charles Hugel (1845).

"Under the present system, when the grain has been trodden out, a division takes place between the farmer and the Government, formerly this was an equal one, but the Government had advanced in its demands till it now requires seven-eighths of the produce of the land near the city and three-fourths of the more remote crops. The straw belongs to the cultivator, and he continues to bribe the watchman or overseer to let him steal his own produce. He is allowed to keep cattle on the mountains during the summer,may cut wood, and bring it into the city for sale, and may also sell wild-greens, butter and milk. It would appear from the above that the farmer is not too well off; but the case is aggravated by the method employed in disposing of the Government share. This is sent into the market, a high price put upon it, no one is permitted to offer his produce at a lower rate, or sometimes even to dispose of it at all until all the public corn is sold".

—Mrs. Murray Aynaley (1878).

"I will illustrate the manner in which the people are ground down in Kashmir by the heads of villages or others invested with a little authority and relate here an anecdote told us by a friend who was in that country a year or two before our visit. He wished to give new pugrees (or turbans) of a particular colour to the boat people who were regularly in his employ in order that he might recognise them at a distance. But these men all prayed him not to insist upon this, but if he was satisfied with it, to give them a little money instead as after he had left, the official seeing them with

any good new clothes would say 'Oh, the Sahib has been very good to them, and no doubt has given them lots of presents' insist on obtaining from them all they could of their hard-earned summer wages on the strength of this, and thus squeeze them more than they otherwise would have done".—*Ibid.*

"The power enjoyed by the officials under system of mujwaza, in virtue of which they could deprive a village of its year's food stocks, was great, but not so great as the power wielded by them in the levy of *begar* or forced labour. A man could sometimes hide his grain in secret pits (zasu) and could save enough food to keep him and his children alive till the fruits and vegetables came, but it was more difficult to hide himself when the officials were on the lookout for human carriage and the Kashmir press-gang would watch and wait if a reluctant villager fled to the mountains. *Begar* means to the Kashmiri far more than the mere impressment of labour; for under its comprehensive name every kind of demand for labour or property taken but not paid for by the officials was included".

—Sir Walter Lawrence (1887).

"Gilgit to the Kashmiri is a constant terror, and when it was rumoured that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villagers bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their Tehsil and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leave their homes for two or three months with the prospect of death from cold or starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shrivelled and paralysed from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit".—*Ibid.*

"In May 1888, I was on Cholera duty at Islamabad. Just as the epidemic was reaching its height and hundreds were dying every day in all the districts around, a levy of 5,000 or more coolies was called for. The villagers were almost distracted with fear. Who would do all their agricultural work ? What would happen during their long absence to their wives and children ? To what perils of pestilence and inclemancy of weather would they be exposed in the crowded bivouacs and snowy passes of that dreaded Gilgit district ? I was present at a sort of farewell service on a maidan outside Islamabad, when nearly 1,000 men were starting, and when they took leave of the friends who had accompanied them so far, loud was the sobbing of some, fervid the demeanour of all as, led by the Mullah, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special penitential psalms. Braver men might well have been agitated at such a time. It is certain that cholera clung to the camp and that the unburried corpses of hundreds of these poor *begaris* marked the whole line of March from Srinagar to Bunji".

—Dr. A. Neve.

"One can tell that this is a sad people who have borne centuries with grief : who have learned to bend their heads to the storm, and have grown twisted and crooked in the process; yet in whose hearts there survives a perception of the purpose of God, and an increasing desire to rise once more into the sunlight of noblemen.........".

"Alas ! if the record of Kashmir be read aright, it is a moving tale of human sins; and there are not many races in the world upon whom the hand of fate has been laid so heavily as upon those who inhabit this, perhaps the fairest corner of the earth".

"Kashmir in truth has paid the price of beauty, that 'fatal gift' of which the poets have sung from early times, and she has paid it a hundred fold. Those

who have lived here have fallen under her caprices as men fell of old under the wiles of Circe : and those without born under a ruder heaven, have coveted her joys with a fierce desire and have seized upon her treasures with unstinted hand. It is under the stress of such events that the character of her people has been evolved and it is a character that is not noble or beautiful, though deserving of sympathy and help from those who have had a happier destiny. There have been times when the life of a man in this land has little more value than the life of a dog............ Neither their lives nor their property nor their honour has been left to this unfortunate people in the past".

"It is only of late within the present generation and within the past few years, that the clouds have lifted and they have begun to raise their heads from the duty of centuries of oppression; and though they know that this change has really come and is likely to stay, they cannot yet in their hearts believe in its duration. Children of light and of a land beautiful beyond dreams of ordinary men a profound sadness is visible in the workings of their spirit; and a great fear still lingers in the hearts. This fear is extra-ordinary in its manifestations; it assails men of gigantic frame and energy, and I have myself wondered to see such a one traceable all over his body (as a thoroughbred hunter may be seen quivering by the covert side when hunds are at work on a winter's morning; but with how different an emotion) at the sound of an angry voice. Such a fear and such memories of necessity provoke qualities of character and temperament upon which those whose past has been happier are prone to look down in anger and a measureless contempt. But even in these respects a marked difference is visible even to a carelesss eye, between the people of the field and hamlets and those of the city; and between the former in their intercourse with each other, and with those who are of the State, or who come with an air of power and authority into their midst." —Scott O'Connor.

"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Mohammadan population absolutely illiterate, laboring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances, and the administrative machinery itself requires over-hauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievances".

—Sir Albion Bannerjee.

"The peasants are sunk in unimaginable poverty. Their mud huts contain hardly a trace of visible property, save a few pots and water jars. When I put my questions in a typical village, every household was in debt, and the usual rate of interest was 48%. If a peasant owns his holdings, it is rarely big enough to feed his family throughout the year, and he makes up the deficiency by treking as a seasonal labourer across the mountains to the Punjab. He has no land, he works as a share-cropper and pays the owner by way of rent, one half of all his produce...... His wooden plough dates from the dark ages and his cattle, if he has any, are of such miserable breeds that they are hardly worth the trouble milking. Worse than this, much of the land is held under feudal tenure by great landlords, known as Jagirdars who draw their tribute from the cultivators, as a reward for some service rendered to the Maharaja or his ancestors. Most of them are absentees and the worst of them are above the law. The peasants, taxed to the limit of their endurance and subject to an administration that is corrupt from top to bottom, are voteless, unorganised and helpless in their ignorance. In the village where I made my enquiries not a single child went to school. Their undernourishment was obvious at a glance and the women complained of the total lack of medical care".

—H. M. Brailsford.

" From across of boats on the lake, voices were shouting in chorus in their own language 'Quit Kashmir' From crowded roads on shore, other voices echoed the slogan. It was addressed to the Maharaja, one of the biggest of the Indian States. His subjects were dispersing after one of the most memorable meetings ever held in Kashmir. The scene of it was a countyard of an ancient mosque, some miles from Srinagar which is a famous shrine because it cherishes a hair of the prophet's beard".

"Sheikh Abdullah based his case on one of the most iniquitous records of the East India Company. A hundred years ago, it sold Kashmir and its people to the ruler of the neighbouring State of Jammu. This transaction is recorded in the Treaty of Amritsar which required from Maharaja Gulab Singh a payment of cash equivalent to about £400,000 and a token tribute annually of one horse, twelve goats (six male and six female) and three pairs of kashmiri shawls. In return for this sum he and his heirs have ruled as autocrats down to the present day".

"Here was a tempting theme which only a tame speaker could have spoiled and Sheikh Abdullah is a brilliant and magnetic orator. He drew the logical conclusion and called for the cancellation of the Treaty. The real significance of his speech lay in its revolutionary implications, its denial of the Maharaja's right to rule. It was a demand for clean break with past. Like every Indian democrat Sheikh Abdullah is bent on securing responsible government and adult suffrage, but he meant more than this when he challenged the dynasty. His real aim is to sweep away the feudal system which has made of this lovely valley one of the most backward and benighted regions of India".

—*Ibid*

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"As a climax to the Kashmir revolt, Sheikh Abdullah has been brought to trial here, accused of sedition because he demanded that Maharaja Sir Hari Singh should quit".

"A plane is always available should Kashmir's ruler be compelled to quit—and he is only one of a number of princes who have planes ready to take to the air if the political atmosphere on the ground becomes too hot".

"With more wealth outside Kashmir than in it and tidy fortunes tucked away in London and elsewhere, even if driven to quit the Maharaja and his successors need not be haunted by the fear of destitution or even the necessity to work. Over the entrance of Jhelum power works, the Maharaja has an inscription reading : 'There is dignity in labour and work is worship'. In that sense the ruler cannot be said to be over keen on worship".

"Largely because the labour of so many of his subjects lacks the dignity of a just reward, revolt is simmering in Kashmir. In all probability an all-India decision on States rule, on the principle of responsible government under constitutional monarchies, will be reached but the princes will be expected to devote their energies to their constitutional duties."

"What is decided for all States we shall have no option but to put into operation here", Kashmir's Prime Minister Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak told me."

"Sheikh Abdullah, 6 ft. 4 ins. personality, once a teacher and now Nehru's Vice-President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference and Leader of the National Movement in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, leapt impatiently ahead of national policy and demanded 'Quit Kashmir'. He was arrested on the way to Delhi to see Nehru before his policy had been endorsed or any plan to enfore it had been organised".

"Kashmir is advanced in some respects and backward in others. The literacy rate is only seven per cent".

"He outlined a five-year plan on co-operative principles but the co-operation expected of the com-

munity in the irrigation scheme was the provision of unskilled labour free".

"Kashmir is rich not only in unmatchable natural resources—timber, water, power, silk, wool, fruit, fish, cattle, a productive soil in the valleys and mineral and chemical deposits in hills but also in the inborn artistic genius and skill of craftsmanship of its people. Nowhare in the world is more exquisite woodwork, embroidery, papier machie, brass and copper work produced, the whole process of design, execution and sale being the works of the same man".

"With sources such as these Kashmir should be one of the most prosperous and contented provinces in the world and its craftsman the most highly paid. Yet nowhere in this land of abject destitution side by side with excessive riches is contrast more shocking than here".

—Norman Cliff.

"Kashmir has become accustomed to political and economic upheavals. The eruption that is now shaking the State to its foundations and will reshape it with new contours and different horizons is the passion for education that is exploding in all directions".

"Not even the remotest village remains unaffected and as the lava of learning spreads to the farthest corners a great awakening can be foreseen, with transforming effects. The bursting clouds that submerge the rice fields in floods present problems that are difficult enough, but not nearly so embarrassing or so permanent as that of the popular clamour for schools, and more schools, teachers and text books. The fathers and mothers of Jammu and Kashmir, who have had the minimum of chances themselves, are insisting on the maximum of opportunities for their children and young Kashmir is stretching out eager hands for the fruits of knowledge".

"The responsibility thus thrust upon the leaders of the State is immense and they would be the first to admit that the fires that are now leaping into flame were kindled by their former colleagues. Their response to the popular demand is wholehearted, but necessarily limited by the extent of resources. The expenditure on education has jumped from Rs. 37 lakhs six years ago to Rs. 72 lakhs last year, and the ceiling is still far off".

"Thousands of children are still deprived of these opportunities, of course, and are compelled to strain their young bodies in rural labour or to ruin their health and eye-sight in dim and over-crowded workshops with tuberculosis as the reward for their inherited skill. But the benefits of literacy are not the sole prerogative of the lads in grey shirts and shorts and the girls in white 'Shalwars' and green jumpers, troops of whom one encounters in the towns. The thirst for knowledge has reached the mountian tops and penetrated the forests, the shepherds and the nomads now claiming the citizens' right to education. Procession of these sturdy picturesque folk, are even on the march to pastures new—tall, black bearded men, heavily ornamented women as hardy as their men folk, wrinkled grannies hugging tiny babies on ponies, and herds of buffaloes, pack-horses, goats and attendant dogs."

"There are the Gujjars who leave their settlements in Jammu for the heights of Kashmir in summer, and the Bakarwals who are constantly on the move to fresh grazing grounds. These robust people who are strongly independent and whose healthy opon-air life seems to keep them free from fanaticism are displaying a lively interest in the affairs of the State and insisting their children shall share the advantage of the future".

—*Ibid.*

"Every aspect of nature is lovely. But one is shocked at the terrible poverty of the people. Beggars abound".

"I met an educated young man in Srinagar and we began discussing the poverty in Kashmir. The young man said that it was tragic that people live so miserably and the Goveanment could not help them' .

"Let Russia or America have this place and you will see how prosperous we will become. Why can't we hand over this place to either of them and save people from misery", he remarked with anger and despair.

"What about your freedom" ?

"What is the use of freedom when hunger and poverty stalk the land", he retorted.

Someone rightly wrote. "Kashmir produces food, yet its people starve. In the land where finest and softest wools are spun, its people are clad in rags. In a land where precious stones are found, none of its people possess them."

"Subsidised rice is sold in Kashmir at three annas per seer and that is great relief to the poor. The Bakhshi Government is making headway and the people are feeling more confident about their furture".

"Slowly the Abdullah legend is dying out and the people are increasingly realising that their destiny is safe in Bakhshi's hands".

"People in Kashmir do not generally use 'ghee'. They are very fond of oil. Pure ghee is sold at a cheap rate. They are very fond of rice".

"One thing that struck me was that Srinagar was free from political beggars. I did not see many politicians or traders and contractors shadowing Ministers for this favour or that, as they do in Nainital".

"I was pleasantly surprised to discover, too, that drinking is not popular in Kashmir, despite the cold weather. Kashmiris are not fond of milk either. Most of them like to take curd".

"There is plenty of fruit, but surprisingly enough Kashmiris are not very fond of it".

"Srinagar is still suffering due to the past raids. The raiders had damaged the electric power house and since then Srinagar has not been able to restore the former supply of electric current to its citizens".

"Picnics are very popular in Kashmir and groups of boys and girls, men and women are seen camping near beauty spots. Wooden tiles are very popular with Kashmiris. They look artistic."

"People of Kashmir are proud of their Chinar tree. Under its branches one finds a sort of cool retreat. It is said that the tree was originally imported from Persia, but now it is more numerous in Kashmir than in Persia".

"Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh has adjusted himself admirably to the changed circumstances. He lives in a comparatively small palace and is not very fond of pomp and show. On every Sunday he visits some place in Kashmir and studies the people's problems. On Sunday he takes no meat and on Tuesday he fasts. He is a man of simple habits".

—P. D. Tandon.

CHAPTER XX

CULTURAL HERITAGE

We have already hinted in these pages that Kashmiris possess a unique culture. It sprang from Aryans and was influenced during the course of history by Jews, Greeks, Turks, Chinese, Muslims and what not. Writes Arthur Neve "Ancient India had nothing more worthly of its early civilization than the grand remains of Kashmir." Says Kalhana "Kashmiris were called Shestrashilpira, *i.e.*, architects." Kashmir is a fusion of cultures and languages. The principal cultural division of the State are—(a)Dugar (b) Ladakh (c) Baltistan (d) Gilgit or the land of Dards (e) Mirpur-Poonch-Muzaffarabad (f) Valley of Kashmir. About thirteen languages and dialects are spoken in this area, chief being Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Ladakhi and Dardi. The ancient script of Dogri was Takri and of Kashmiri Sharda. Kashmir shared fame as an important seat of learning and culture with Nalanda and Taxila. Kashmiri literature combines in itself Persian and Sanskrit traditions and Islamic and Hindu philosophies. A Sanskirt inscription on a tomb in the Cemetery of Baha-ud-Din put up during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah in 1484 indicates that both Sanskirt and Persian were in use. A birch bark document in Sharda and Persian characters pertaining to Sheikh Makhdom Hamza, a Muslim saint of Kashmir, about 500 years old, reflects the Kashmiri's catholicism of outlook.

The earliest specimen of Kashmiri literature is Mahayney Prakash of Rajnakesiti Kanthe. Lala Ded who lived in the 14th century A.D. expressed herself as a link between the classical Sanskrit traditions of the past and the Persian poetic patterns of later period. Munshi Bhawani Dass Kachroo was as great a Persian writer as Mohammad Tabir Gani. Jangnama by Taba Ram Turki stands on the same footing as Shahnama of Firdous. Rajkaul Arzbeg's diary and Rajkak Dhar's

farrukh have a place in local literature. Persian tales of "Farhad and Shirin" and "Yusuf and Zulaikha" did inspire folklore but love-lyrics of "Bumbru and Lolare", "Himal and Nagrai" and "Bulbul and Myna" are very rich synthesis of romantic fancy and legend, purely indigenous. Gulrez of Pir Maqbool Shah Kralwari, Shahnama of Wahab Parey and Sudama Charita of Parmanand are also notable. Among the modern writers are Abdul Ahad Azad, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, Ghulam Hassan Arif, Dina Nath Nadim, Noor Moohammad Roshan, Ali Mohammad Lone, Amin Kamil, Shamim-Ahmad Shamin and Master Zinda Kaul. They do not only inspire but make the language. Lala Ded represents Kashmiri language and religious system of the fourteenth century influenced by Islamic thought and culture. Her spiritual preceptor was Sidh Bey. She became a devout follower of Trika philosophy. Besides she mastered Shat-chakras. Her poetry denounces rituals and welcomes all castes and creeds. Hindu *sadhus* and *sanyasis* influenced Muslim masses as much as did Muslim sheikhs and *pirs* Hindu masses. The product of this cultural fusion was Nur-ud-Din (Sahajanand) of Tsrar Sharif popularly known as Nund Rishi. Lala Ded and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din were followed by Haba Khatun and Urinimal, famous for *Lol* lyrics. Nearly two centuries after Haba Khatun came Urinimal on the literary scene. There is more of pathos and tragedy in her songs.

The mystic and philosophic note is missing from the modern Kashmiri literature which opens with a fresh and free outlook on national and cultural life. This is represented by Mahjoor and Azad. The later was inspired by Rasool Mir. He expressed himself against injustice, intolerance and suppression. Side by side Daya Ram Ganjoo and Masterji strike a different note. Asad Ullah Mir, Lachman Bhat Nagam, Nand Lal Ambardar and Abdul Wahab Hajin belong to the early phaze of modern Kashmiri poetry. Abdul Sattar Gujri Aasi is a proletarian poet. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in "Quit Kashmir"

movement for his poen 'Siasi Qaidi'. Dina Nath Nadim gives a socialistic message. Roshan's *Ashq* and Zutshi's *Vijwan* attracted attention.

Folk tales have their own place in literature. Folk music is traced to tenth century. Chhakri came from Afghanistan about 400 years ago. Soofiana Mausiqi came from Iran and has come down from man to man (unwritten). There are references that music had attained perfection in the time of Jaloka whose queen also danced. "Zohra Khatun and Haya Band", Gulala Shah, Wazirmal, Lalmal, Shah Sayar, Sheshman are very well-known. There are also ballads like Sudamacharita, Radha Swoyamvara and Shivalagan. The Kashmiri muse sings through folklore, fresh and chaste. Ruff and Chhakri* are the heritage of Kashmir's dynamic past and spirit of beauty around. Harvest season, wedding season, sowing season and long winter nights are occasions of drama and music. Kashmiri music and drama may be traced to books like Sangitaculamani, Swaimatrika and kutmmabalam. Soofiana kalam (classical) is derived from Soofism. The instruments accompanying the music are Saz, Santoor, Sitar and Dholak. Whether it is music or poetry, drama or painting, art or architecture, love or romance, the inspiration comes from Kongposh and Pamposh which dance and sing with moon and stars. "Cultural cosmopolitanism and cultural synthesis of the Kashmir literary tradition may be traced to the second century A. D. Kashmiri literature characterists have synthesized almost all cultural and religious traditions of India as manifested by Kashmiri poetry. The synthesis left an impact on contemporary Kashmiri thinking and living where various religious practices were mingled. The literary tradition of Kashmir was best represented in and described by two mythical images which were generally believed to have found currency in the second to fifth century A. D. One of them particularly reflected the relationship between

* There are also Bacha Nagma, Bandjashna, Tumboknari, Wanawun, Naudagewun—all light music.

Kashmir and the rest of the Indian mainland in an image (not statue-of Vishnu on a lotus flower). In this particular image India is depicted by the body and Kashmir by the halo. Identical images have been found in the Nilgiris. Among the first notable work on Kashmir is Kalhana's Rajtarangini, a factual and unpretentious account of conditions in Kashmir during his time in which the author has explained the reason for ready absorption of cultures and religious traditions in Kashmir when in his references to Buddhism he proclaimed-we are not to argue with Buddhists. We are not to argue with those who differ from us. Roughly in fourteenth century Ismaili philosophy made its appearance in Kashmir following the Muslim invasion. The Kashmiris, according to the chronicler Balakshah, rejoiced in the return of a mystic system to their tradition. It was not till the 13th century, however, that a truly Kashmiri litarature arose with the legendary poetess—Lalla Arifa. Her poems are still recited in all parts of Kashmir and retained their original freshness and surprisingly enough had retained their original forms despite the fact that they had been recited by professional Muslim minstrels for over 500 years. Some original texts reveal that even archaic forms of expression were retained. Kashmir Advaita Shaivism influenced Ismaili literature in Badakhshan, whether or not Shaiva Manuscripts followed or preceded a Kashmir invasion of the immediate west. Advaita Shaiva texts and Persian Ismaili texts of Badakhshan could provide much material"

—(Nila Cram Crook)

Under the auspices of the State Academy of Arts and Culture a Kashmiri dictionary in Persian script was attempted claiming larger collection of words than Grierson's which was based on the material collected by Ishwar Kaul, a well known scholar. The first grammar of the Kashmiri language was published in 1886 by Rev: T. R. wade. History of Kashmiri literature by Abdul Ahad Azad was compiled in three volumes. Translation of 'Nilamatpurana' by Dr. Ked Ghai is a valuable contribution. Jagan Nath Sheopuri's and

Abdul Aziz's note book on soofiana music will carry forward this type of music which is an off-shoot of Indo-Iranian culture.

MYSTICS OF KASHMIR

1. Grata Baba
2. Sumbali Baba
3. Madrasi Baba
4. Mathra Devi
5. Paltu Shah
6. Akram Saib
7. Lakhman Ji
8. Nand Ram
9. Gupa Joo
10. Hari Ram
11. Mirak Shah
12. Nand Lal
13. Lasa Saib
14. Zaina Machi

They are guarding the spiritual frontiers of Kashmir.



CHAPTER XXI

LIST OF ANCIENT CLASSICS

Name	*Remarks*
Kashayapa :	Drained out water from the Satisar and brought Brahmins to live in the reclaimed land-Kashyapmar or Kashmir.
Patanjali :	Author of Grammar and of the books of medicine and yoga philosophy. His house was at a village called Gonard or Gudar in the Kulgam Tehsil.
Mammatcharya :	Poet and Rhetorician.
Karyatacharya :	Author of Sanskrit Grammar. Lived at Raj Chhajkot, a village above Avantipora.
Ummatacharya :	Author of commentary on Vedas.
Vamana :	Author of Grammar.
Rudrata :	Poet.
Vagabhatta :	Poet and author of books on medicine.
Charaka :	Author of books on medicine.
Bamala :	Poet.
Vashu Gupta :	Lived about the end of 8th Century of the Christian era. He was the founder of Shaiva philosophy, having learnt it from Shiva himself in a dream.
Shiva Swami :	Author of books on Shaiva philosophy. Lived in 815-900 A.D.
Bhaskara :	Pupil of Sri Kantha Bhatta. Lived probably in 11th Century of Christian era.

Name	*Remarks*
Jagodhara :	Poet and author of Grammar.
Bhatta :	Poet.
Ananda Vardhan :	Poet
Chhachhak Bhatt :	Author of Grammar.
Rochat or Ruyyak :	Poet.
Udbhatta :	Poet.
Kshemendra :	Wrote the Rajtarangini in 1148-49 A.D.
Kalhana :	Historian.
Jonaraja :	Lived in the time of Zain-ul-Abdin (1420-70 A.D.). Wrote the Rajtarangini from the time Kalhana had left it down to his own time.
Shrinara :	Pupil of Jonaraja. Continued the Rajtarangini from 1459-86 A.D.
Prajya Bhatta :	Continued the Rajtarangini down to the time of annexation of Kashmir by Akbar 1586 A.D.
Jayaratha :	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy. Lived about 12th Century of Christian era.
Shivopadhya :	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy. His home was at Habbakadal, Srinagar. Lived about 1571 A.D.
Sharvavarma :	Author of Grammar.
Damodar Gupta :	Poet.
Ratnakantha :	Poet and author of books on Shaiva Philosophy.
Manka :	Author of Dictionary.
Balabhata :	Author of books on Shaiva Philosophy.

Name	*Remarks*
Somadeva :	Author of Brahskatha which is in the possession of some Brahmins at Bhori Kadal who practise fortune telling by looking into it.
Abhinanda :	Poet of the highest order equal to Kalidas.
Vallabhadeva :	Poet
Narahari :	Poet and Commentator.
Kumorajina ;	(Tungheo--Chinese title) 384-417 A.D.
Bilhava :	Poet.

CHAPTER XXII

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Chak Period :	Mulla Hassan Qazi.
Moghul Period :	Ain-i-Akbari (Farishta, Abul Fazil, Bernier).
Afghan Period :	Shahnama Kashmir by Taufiq.
Sikh Period :	Safarnama Ranjit Singh by Akhbari, Tarikh Kashmir by Birbal Kachroo, Vigne, Hugel, Harringhmger, Focquement.
Dogra Period :	Gulzzar-i-Kashmir and Gulabnama by D. Kirpa Ram, Khulasatul Twarikh by Mirza Said-ud-din-Beg, Ancient Monuments by R. C. Kak, Kashmiri Pandit by Anand Kaul*.

Jagadhar Bhat wrote Stuli Kusumanajjali in 1350.

Siri Kantha wrote Balaadhimi in 1475.

Vallabhadara wrote Padyavali in 1550.

Sinpadhyaya wrote Vijana Khairvo in 1775.

Kh. Miran Bazaz wrote Tazkara-i-Murshadi in 1575.

Baba Dand Mushakani wrote Asrar-ul Ahrar in 1653

Mula Zibni wrote Tazkara-i-Shuara-i-Kashmir in 1655.

Dara Shikoh translated Upanishadas into Persian.

(Writers in Philosophy). :—

* Other writers : Kahan Singh Bilawaria, Hargopal Kaul, Prem Nath Bazaz, Jai Lal Kaul Nazir, Jai Lal Kilam.

M/s. Ghulam Rassol Nazuki, Jai Lal Kaul, Soom Nath Zutshi, Noor Mohammad Roshan, Prem Nath Pardesi contributed to the making of Kashmiri literature through Kashmiri language.

Badh Dud Khaki, Habib Ullah Naushahri, Mirza Akhnal-ud-din Kamil. He wrote Bahar-ul-Urjan in four volumes containing 80,000 verses.

MOGHUL PERIOD

Sarfi, Mulla Ashraf, Baha-ud-din Mattoo, M. Mazhari.

Mulla Mahsan Khushu, M. Bhavani Das Kachroo —He wrote Babar-i-Tavil in 1800.

Toba Ram Turki wrote in 1840.

Rajakaul Arzbegi wrote in 1887.

Raja Kak Dhar wrote in 1850.

Medicine :—

Hakim Mansur, Mohd. Murad.

Religion :—

Mulla Muhsin Fani.

Kashmiri :—

Rajanaka Shri Kantha, Sh. Nur-ud-Din, Sona Bhat, Udh Bhat, Sahib Kaul, Parkash Bhat.

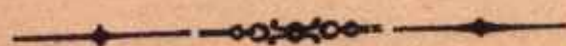
Women :—

Rup Bhawani, Lal Ded, Mrs. Bhavani Das Kachroo., Habba Khatoon.

GENERAL

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2. The River of Kings—R.S. Pandit.
3. The Vallev of Kashmir—W. Lawrence.

4. Kashmir—Younghusband.
5. An Essay on the Asian Order...........Temples of Kashmir—Cunningham.
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9. Architecture of Kashmir—T. S. Growse.
10. Kashmir in Sunlight & Shade—C. E. T. Biscoe
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19. Thirty Years in Kashmir—Dr. A. Neve.
20. Travels in Kashmir—Vigne.
21. Trevels in Kashmir and the Puujab— A. A. C. Hugel.
22. A History of Kashmir—P. N. K. Bamzai.



CHAPTER XXIII

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Butler Committee :—

"They had imagined a committee diflerent alike in composition and functions from that which ultimatelly materialised. It was expected that round a nucleus of English Statesmen of reputation, there would be grouped representatives of the Govenment of India, of British India and of the Indian States together with financial, constitutional and political experts. Two things were uppermost in their minds; firstly they had become painfully conscious that what was called political practice whittled away rights, which they believed to have been safe-guarded by treaties; secondly, they found their position was one of considerable uncertainty, not merely in regard to their future relations with a self governing British India, but also in regard to their present relation with the Government of India. They were anxious to find out precisely where they stood, where their rights began and those of the Paramount Power ended so that they might take stock of the part they were called upon to play in greater India which they saw shaping before their eyes, but the Committee from the very nature of its personnel and restricted lines of reference could not conduct an examination satisfactorily. The Committee by its own admission was not a judicial tribunal. This was conclusive evidence that the State could not receive at its hands that kind of award which was their principal reason for asking for an enquiry at all."

—Hari Singh

Round Table Conference :—

"Allied by treaty with the British Crown and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of responsibility to our State and all India. As the allies of British we stand solidly

by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine, as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation."

"Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. Difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and goodwill and we must give and take. If we succeed, England loses. The task is gigantic. In case of no people would such an aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In case of India, complexity of factors is unique but by the grace of God and with goodwill and sympathy on both sides difficulties shall be surmounted and with the words of the King Emperor still ringing in our ears, we Princes affirm that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours."

—Hari Singh

Cripps's Mission (1942)

"We have yet to know the conclusions at which His Majesty's Government has unanimously arrived under the combined stress of British India's well-known demands and the requirements of the war situation to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all interests".

"On the part of the States, a considerable factor in the Indian policy and an important party to be satisfied, there has been a tendency even within recent weeks, to give prominence to the credo of 'Relations to the Crown.' These relations have so far been maintained through and effected by a Department set up by the will of the Crown, the policy and practice of the Department being determined by the Crown's functionaries. Logically, therefore, it would seem that the Princes cannot object to having dealings with

a Central Government of India which the Crown may constitute. Nor have they any reason to assume that they would not get a square deal from such a Government.

"In any case, it is the duty of the Princes to show themselves the equals of nationals anywhere in the world."

"The Princes are justified in assuming that, in a self-Governing India, every autonomous unit will share equally the fiscal and financial advantage accruing in such an India as well as the responsibilities and burdens entailed by the maintenance of peace and order and the provision of beneficient service and public utilities in the territories administered. And it should not be forgotten that these territories may have problems peculiar to their populations as well as to their physical conditions."

"In the India of to-morrow, such of the Princes' prerogatives as enable them to afford a better life to their subjects and to ameliorate their lot must remain. Other privileges, which may be merely matters of honour and glory, shedding effulgence on their personalities, are of comparatively small account when set beside other considerations such as the safe-guarding of resources necessary for upto date government and the relief of burdens borne by the State alone."

"In promising to support the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chamber of Princes added the proviso that the support should be without prejudice to the right of individual states to lay their case before him and generally without prejudice to the inherent rights of the States. These rights it is not easy to define or catalogue when one considers the effect of the political practice inaugurated in 1860 and since maintained with aid of 'usage and sufferance.' In any case, there is a piquant irony in the contrast between the Princes' reiteration of the phrase. 'Treaty Rights' and the Viceroy's suggestion that all Princes, for certain purposes,

should voluntarily abdicate in favour of the Political officers accredited to their courts."

"When at the Round Table Conference the Princes assented to the working out of a Federal Constitution, they were prepared voluntarily to delegate some of their sovereign powers to a Federal Government. In the India of the future, it is possible that the matters committed to the Central Government would be far fewer than those recited in the Table of Federal Matters appended to the Act of 1935."

"Unless, therefore, the proposals entrusted to Sir Stafford Cripps are fundamentally adverse to the interests of the Indian States and this is unthinkable there is no reason why there should not be ample common ground between the States and the rest of India."

Freedom must be our watchword............freedom from crippling restrictions and strangling control, freedom from the subordination of India's interests to the interests of other parts of the Commonwealth."

—Hari Singh

Franchise Committee's Report :—

"The Committee after pointing out the difficulty and the diversity of population in the State recommended the constitution of State Assembly of 75 members of which 16 will be State Councillors, 12 officials and 33 elected : 14 Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Buddhists will be nominated from constituencies in which election is impossible. The Assembely should be presided over by a Minister. The Committee lay down that every elector must be a State subject who had acquired immovable property in the State and has had ten years' continuous residence. The Committee do not agree that women in general should be enfranchised. Adult male suffrage being impossible primarily on administrative grounds, franchise—ten per cent of the adult male population in the cities and about 15 per cent in the country. The Assembly's term will be

three years. Age prescribed for an elector is 21 years and that for a candidate 25 years".

State Council (1991) :—

"The Council of Ministers of the State shall comprise the Prime Minister for the time being and such other Ministers of the State as His Highness may appoint. The Prime Minister who shall be the President of the Council and the other Ministers shall hold office during His Highness' pleasure and the superintendence, direction and control of the Civil Administration and Government be vested in the Council".

"The Legislature of the State shall consist of the Council and the Assembly and subject to the provision of this Regulation no legislative measure shall be deemed to have passed unless it has been passed by the Council or the Assembly and has received the assent of His Highness. An Ordinance on being assented to by His Highness shall have the force of law for a period not exceeding six months from the date of promulgation."

Proclamation of Praja Sabha :—

"We recently expressed our wish and pleasure that means be designed whereby our people may be more closely associatcd in our Councils ; and in pursuance of our Commands thus declared those persons appointed by us to give practical shape to our wishes have submitted their recommendations which have been accepted by us."

"The assemblage here present this day is the outcome of their labours to give outward form to our behests. It is the first of its kind in recent times ; out of old, the duties which you will have to perform were duties which were always shouldered and loyally discharged by the Praja ever since the institution of monarchy came into being in this ancient land of India. To acquaint themselves with the needs of their people the kings of old have caused to be performed, and maintained, bodies from village Panchayats, up to

assemblies of this nature, composed of the representatives of the various interests in their kingdom. Our own record bears witness to this."

"For our part we declare that Divine Providence having laid upon us the sacred duty to care equally for all those committed to our guardianship, we can recognize no difference between one person and another or between one class and another. They are all our beloved children whatever their persuasion or creed, and we desire to protect, foster, guide and advance them by every means in our power."

"Out of the great love and affection we bear our beloved subjects, we have called you to do your part in the working for the well being of this State. We have appointed your task and indicated the lines of the service you can render to yourselves and to your Ruler whose ordained duty it is to safeguard and promote your best interests. We desire you to enter upon the discharge of your responsibilities in such a way that your behaviour may be an example to others and your achievements at once a model for them to emulate and a monument to your own earnestness and your loyalty to the State that you serve."

"No one here to-day can fail to realise that both in theory and practice the existence of a stable society and a peaceful community involves, presupposes a head whose sway must be ungrudingly accepted and whose behests must be loyally carried out, if harmony and orderly progress of the community is to be achieved. In recent times, certain nations have departed from this, and the world has witnessed the sorry spectacle of chaos and anarchy. The fate of these nations should provide us with an object lesson. Those who have chosen precipitately to break from their ancient moorings have not yet found the haven of peace ; they are still floundering in stormy waters. Peace and harmony are the essential conditions of progress and prosperity, and all can see that the world of the present day after experiencing the storm and stress of unsettlement is

once again discovering the axiom that peaceful progress, even if slow, is in the long run the best, indeed the only way."

"Beware of impassioned utterances so much in vogue to-day. They invariably formulate unbalanced and unpractical ideals that are as much divorced from decisive factors and stern realities as they are foreign to the genius of our race. Cultivate sobriety of thought and expression, shunning all that is disruptive and devote all your energies to creative and constructive work which alone can help to ameliorate the lot and conduce to the happiness of those whose spokesmen you have undertaken to be."

"May the Dispenser of all Bounties in His infinite mercy and wisdom bless your labours, and may those labours conducted in perfect harmony rebound to the credit of our subjects whose first chosen representative you are, and to the glory of our unique heritage and of our body politic."

—Hari Singh

Appointment of two Popular Ministers :—

"With a view to giving further effect to my policy of associating my subjects with the administration of the State, I have after careful consideration decided to call upon the Praja Sabha to nominate panel of six (three to be Muslims) of its members, three from Jammu and three from Kashmir (including the Frontier Districts). Out of the panel so nominated, I shall appoint two (one of whom will be a Muslim) as my Ministers. These Ministers shall hold charge of portfolios to be determined by me and will hold office during my pleasure."

—Hari Singh

Popular Ministers :—

(1) Mr. M. A. Beg and
(2) Wazir Ganga Ram

(The farce of dyarchy was exposed on 19th March, 1946 when Beg's resignation was accepted as the wheel of constitution was not run).

Silver Jubilee of King Emperor :—

"During my absence in England to attend the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King Emperor, I can assure you that you were all constantly in my mind."

"Unfortunately, Kashmir was visited by a serious epidemic of cholera which, however, I am glad to say, through the heroic efforts of our Medical Department and willing and wise co-operation of my people was brought completely under control."

—Hari Singh

Public Reception (24-10-1941) :—

"Most of my time was given in visiting the fighting men who have gone to this theatre of war from our country. I found them well and extermely cheerful, bent on their business and full of confidence as to their future. You have alluded to the part played in the war so far by our Ist Mountain Battery under the command of that efficient and capable officer Lt.Col. Bhagwan Singh. You will be glad to know that wherever I went and whichever officers of high military rank I met, not one of them could say enough about the gallantry and professional skill of this Unit so much so that even in the sea-plane yesterday there were congratulations offered on the splendid service which our Battery has done. My general impression, however, is that India may look forward with calm assurance to a bright future of security and prosperity. I cannot forego this public opportunity of reading out the message which the Officers and men of our Mountain Battery asked me to convey to their brothers-in-arms. The message is—Brothers, You have, no doubt, heard of the services which we on behalf of our Ruler and our State were prlvileged to render to the Empire in more than one theatre of war. Proud as we are of this stroke of good fortune we are convinced that given a similar opportunity all of you who have received the same training under the watchful eye of our Master will distinguish yourself even more and thus add lustre and renown to his name and that of our State. You will be glad to hear that we

are all well and happy and praying that some of you at least may be able to come over and fight shoulder to shoulder with us. Till then out heartiest greetings."

—Hari Singh

Address of Welcome (22-7-1944) :—

"I would not have missed the opportunity and the experience for anything. I was in London at two of the most dramatic moments of the war ; namely, the entry of the Allied forces into Rome and Allied landing on the coast of Normandy—events which are important milestones on our march to Victory— Speaking from a purely personal point of view, when I was right up in the front line within a few hundred yards of the enemy and when I flew over the German Lines in Italy, I felt a thrill and a happiness which I had scarcely ever felt before. It did one's heart good to see when actually flying over the enemy lines that there was little activity there. In Italy, I saw all the three Indian Divisions and found them full of courage and spirits. The Indian troops are always in the forefront of the battle and are glad to be there. Whenever I saw an Indian unit moving up to the front, I watched the faces of the men. Each face was wreathed in smiles. No wonder that every commander I met had only praise and admiration for the Indian soldier. Although none of the units of the forces of this State was at the Italian front, I noticed with interest and pride that this State was very well represented in the units of the Indian Army that were there. What I saw and heard while in England convinced me of the high determination of every man and woman to achieve complete victory and lasting peace, no matter what the sacrifice involved might be."

"A word about my work in the War Cabinet. We, the representatives of India, attended the meetings of the War Cabinet relating to the conduct of the war on terms of absolute equality with other members. The deliberations were carried on in an atmosphere of complete frankness and our opinion was sought and given in exactly the same manner as that of other

members of the War Cabinet. Similar was the case with the Dominion Premiers Conference. Though at neither of these Conferences did India come up for particular discussion, we were gratified to find considerable interest in Indian affairs and much friendly feelings towards India."

—Hari Singh

Extract from Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's address to the Constituent Assembly set up in 1951 :—

"After centuries, we have reached the harbour of our freedom, a freedom which for the first time in history will enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir whose duly elected representatives are gathered here to shape the future of their country after wise deliberation and mould their future organs of Government."

"When we look back, we see how our footsteps have taken us not among the privileged, but into the homes of the poor and down trodden. We have fought their battle against privilege and oppression and against these darker powers in the background which sought to set man against man on the ground of religion.

The New Kashmir says :—

"We, the people of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and the Frontier regions, including Poonch and Chenani Illaqas—commonly known as Jammu and Kashmir State—in order to perfect our union in the fullest quality and self-determination, to raise ourselves and our children for ever from the abyss of oppression and poverty, degradation and superstition, from mediaeval darkness and ignorance, into the sunlit valleys of plenty, ruled by freedom, science and honest toil, in worthy participation of the historic resurgence of the peoples of the East and the working masses of the world, and in determination to make this our country a dazzling gem on the snowy bosom of Asia do propose and propound the following Constitution of our State."

"French Constitution of 1791 Article 3 says—The source of all sovereignty resides fundamentally in the Nation . . . . Sovereignty is one and indivisible, inalienable and imprescriptable. It belongs to the Nation."

"New Kashmir contains a statement of the objective of our social policy. It gives broadly a picture of the kind of life that we hope to make possible for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the manner in which the economic organization of the country will be geared to that purpose."

"The present House of the Rulers of our State based its claim to authority on the Treaty Rights granted to it by the British Government in 1846. To throw light on the nature of these rights, it will be helpful to recall that the British power, in its drive for territorial expansion, achieved its objectives through a network of alliances with the Indian Princes, subsidiary and subordinate, offensive and defensive. This mutually helpful arrangement enabled the British to consolidate their power, and strengthened the grip of the Princes, giving them military help in the event of rebellion by their exploited subjects. The Bulter Committee Report on Treaty Rights in 1929 bears ample testimony on this." *It says* :—

"The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the States against rebellion and insurrection is derived from the clauses of Treaties and *sanads*, from usage and from the promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes . . . . The promise of the King Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carried with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him and substitute another form of Government."

"In recognition of their services to the British Crown, the Indian Princes earned the rewards of a limited sovereignty over their States under the

protection and suzerainty of the Paramount Power. It was in this way that their rights, privileges and prerogatives were preserved."

"Thus the pioneers of British Imperialism subjugated India, aided by the Indian princes. This was hardly diplomacy ; it amounted to fraud and deceit. Mutual agreements arrived at for such ignoble purposes were invested with the sanctity of treaties. And it is from such "treaties" that the Princes claimed their right to rule. Our own State provides a classic example of this. One glance at a page of our history will lay bare the truth."

"The State of Jammu and Kashmir came to be transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846 after the Empire began to disintegrate. His failure to render competent assistance to the Sikh armies was duly noticed by the British as also his willingness to acknowledge their authority. This paved the way for the total occupation of Northen India by the British who were not slow in recognising Maharaja Gulab Singh's services to them. In reward they sold him the territory of Jammu and Kashmir for 75 lakhs of rupees and in the Treaty of Amritsar the British Government made over the entire country in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body."

"In this way, the entire population of Jammu and Kashmir State came under his absolute authority. The peculiar indignity of the transaction naturally offended the national self-respect of our people who resisted the occupation of their country. But the direct intervention of the British troops helped the Maharaja to take possession of the territory."

"This event in the history of the state had catastrophic consequences for the people. The old feudal order, which was bad enough, gave way to more exacting rule in which the Maharaja assumed all proprietary rights over land. The entire State was plunged into a chaotic economic condition, aggravated by a heavy scale of taxation, tributes and levies which were

required to make up for the money given by the Maharaja to the British. This unrelieved despotism reduced the bulk of the people to the level of serfs. There was general impoverishment. In 1848 some 4,000 artisans started on a trek to Lahore with the object of permanently settling there. Even the British counselled the Maharaja to loosen his grip so as to avoid a total collapse of his administration. Perhaps the forefathers of the great poet-philosopher son of Kashmir, Iqbal, were also part of the same trail of migrants who left the State at this time. When his agony over the fate of the people of his homeland burst out in immortal verse, his feelings are echoed in the heart of every Kashmiri."

"O Wind, if you pass through Geneva, give this message to the comity of the people of the world. They sold the peasant, his field, his property and the roof over his head, in fact, they sold the entire nation and for what a paltry price !"

"Invested with this absolute authority, acquired in 1846, the present ruling dynasty was in power for one hundred years. This sad and stern century of servitude has stultified the growth of our people leaving them in the back waters of civilisation. While in British India, and even in some of the Indian States, many a measure of reform was introduced to alleviate the misery of the people in this State unenlightened absolutism of the Rulers drove them deeper into poverty and degradation. When conditions became increasingly intolerable, they made determined efforts to wrest power from the hands of the Ruler.

"By 1947, India had achieved independence and reached one of her historical watersheds. It was clear that with the withdrawal of the Paramount Power, the Treaty rights of the Indian Princes would cease. Sovereignty in that case should revert to the people ; they wished, therefore, to be consulted about the arrangements to be made with regard to the transfer of power. But a strange situation arose. The Cabinet

Mission, while admitting the claims of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in British India, completely refused a similar representation of the States people who would not allow the right of the Princes to speak on their behalf."

"In our own State, the National Conference had made it clear as early as February 10, 1946, that it was against any further continuance of the treaty rights of the Princes which had been made in times and under circumstances which do not obtain now and which have been framed without seeking the consent of the State's peoples. Under such circumstances no treaties or engagements, which act as a dividing wall between their progress and that of their brethren in British India, can be binding on the people."

"It was in this connection that I invited the attention of the Cabinet Mission to the standing inquiry of the Treaty of Amritsar and sought its termination. I wrote to the Cabinet Delegation that :

"As the Mission is at the moment reviewing the relationship of the Princes with the Paramount Power with reference to treaty rights, we wish to submit that for us in Kashmir re-examination of this relalionship is a vital matter because a hundred years ago in 1846, the land and people of Kashmir were sold away by the British for 50 lakhs of British Indian rupees. The people of Kashmir are determined to mould their destiny and we appeal to the Mission to recognise the justice and strength of our case."

"In the Momorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission later by the National Conference, the demand for independence from autocracy was reiterated : (To-day the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from autocratic rule. The immensity of the wrong doen to our people by the sale deed of 1846 can only be judged by looking into the actual living conditions of

the people. It is the depth of our torment that has given strength to our protest."

"The indifferent attitude of the Cabinet Mission to the claims of the States' people convinced us that freedom would not be given to a hundred million people who were to be left to groan under the heel of autocratic rulers. Consequently, the National Conference gave a call to the people to prepare themselves for fresh ordeals and new responsibilities in the final bid for the capture of power from the hands of autocracy. This call came on the eve of the transfer of power in India and was, therefore, in keeping with the spirit of the time."

"The partition of India in 1947 brought many new problems and developments, its administration began to shake and the Government made efforts to patch up the cracking structure. Its incompetence had become glaring. With the tribal raids on the State in October, 1947, it was obvious that the Maharaja's authority had ceased to function and the real power lay in the hands of the people."

"The future constitutional set-up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot derive authority from the old source of relationship which was expiring and was bound to end soon. The set-up could only rest on the active will of the people of the State, conferring on the Head of the State the title and authority drawn from the true and abiding source of sovereignty, that is, the people."

"In 1946, I had also indicated the basis on which an individual could be entrusted by the people with the symbolic authority of a constitutional head."

"The State and its Head represent the constitutional circumstances, and the centre of this sovereignty respectively, the Head of the State being the symbol of the authority with which the people may invest him for the realisation of their aspiration and the maintenance of their rights."

"Saint Thomas Aquinas, as early as the thirteenth century, described the consequences of a king refusing to realize his responsibilities in these wise words."

"A king who is unfaithful to his duty forfeits the claim to obedience. It is not rebellion to depose him, for he is himself a rebel whom the nation has a right to put down. But it is better to abridge his power that he may be unable to abuse it. All political authority is derived from the people, and all laws ought to be made by them or their own representatives. There is no security for us so long as we depend upon the will of another man."

"There is no doubt that Yuvraj Karan Singh in his capacity as a citizen of the State will prove a fitting symbol of the transition to a democratic system in which the ruler of yesterday becomes the first servant of the people functioning under their authority and on their behalf."

"The next issue before us is that of the compensation which we should or should not grant to those land owners who have been expropriated during the putting into operation of the 'land to the tiller' legislation, under which land was given back to the man who actually cultivates it."

"The system of individual ownership of land is of modern growth and originally the land belonged in common to communities of kinsmen or to the State. Before the British rule the proprietors were by no means the real owners of the soil and of all methods for the collection of revenue during that time, the most noteworthy was that of collecting it direct from the cultivators through the Headmen of the villages. There is very little evidence to show that, in Moghul and Sikh times, there were many rent paying tenants. The Ain-i Akbari not only contains no regulations about tenants but also recognises no intermediary between the cultivator and the State. Nevertheless, there were some types of intermediaries in the pre-British period and also in later times and it

is the existence of these intermediaries which led to the development of landlordism in the State. The revenue farmers where one class of such intermediaries and so were the different privileged classes of assignees, jagirdars, muafidars and mukarraridars, all enjoying feudal concessions which were created during the Moghul and the Sikh times and elso during the Dogra Rule.

"In the Jammu Province, ownership of land was granted by State Deeds during the Sikh Rule and the earlier period of the Dogra Rule. In the Kashmir Province, the ownership of land was held by the Rule since 1846 when Maharaja Gulab Singh purchased Kashmir from the British. It was in 1933 as a result of the pressure of public opinion that proprietary right in land was conferred on the land-holders in the Kashmir Province including the Frontier Districts, but this concession to mass demand for transfer of proprietorship of land to the actual cultivators was reduced to a fiction inasmuch as large tracts of land granted by earlier Rulers to influential persons, Rajas and Dewans by State Deeds were construed and acted upon as grants of the right of proprietorship in land. In this manner were created big proprietors who did cultivate their lands themselves, but had tenants who paid them rent in cash and kind. The small peasant-proprietor who cultivated land with his own hands also existed, but there were cases where the cultivators who had originally acquired holder's right and were recorded as such were relegated to the position of tenants by the right of land holding being granted by the Ruler to some of his favourites who did not cultivate the land themselves and were pure and simple rent-receivers."

"While the land settlement in the State was rightly made with the peasant-proprietors, the settlement with the intermediary prprietors was not made on their recognition as proprietors of the soil but because of certain political and financial reason. It was well understood,even by the successive Settlement

Officers and Settlement Commissioners in the State, that though the intermediate proprietors were to be declared the proprietors of the soil, their tenants really were no ordinary tenants but were, in most cases, the original and hereditary possessors of the soil."

"The First Regular Settlement conducted in the State had perhaps nothing to do with the determination of the historical and accurate theory of the intermediary proprietors position, nor was its function to confer on the proprietors a position comparable to what they originally were. It appears that the task of the settlement authorities was only to legalize all the original acts of illegality and usurpation by which intermediary revenue farmers or rent-receivers had assumed great power and influence in the period of disorder, before a proper Revenue Admintstration came to the country."

At the First Regular Settlement, the area of land not under cultivation was very large. In 1891 A.D. when the late Sir Walter Lawrence was in the State, every inducement was given to the cultivators to till the land and in this way large tracts of State land were brought under cultivation. But even such land as had been reclaimed and brought under the plough by the cultivators were gifted away in proprietory right to influential persons. There were grants of land known as Chaks made under Order Nos. 5 and 6 otherwise known as the Pratap Code. All these grants were subjected to substantial concession in land revenue. There were grants of different kinds as, for instance, State Officials' Grant in Perpetuity, Hindu Grants and others. The vast majority of these concessionist landholders obtained their grants by virtue of the high positions they had acquired. The grants under the Pratap Code were entirely made to the clan and the kinsmen of the Royal House in whose favour were also released some State Forest Reserves. With the demarcation of forests in the State, several areas were excluded from the forests and let out for cultivation and for purposes of agriculture, State lands were similarly permitted to be used as Grazing Ground. The

reclaimed land out of the Wular Lake, and in and around the Dal Lake, which was owned by the State, was also released for cultivation. And then under Raj Tilak Boon No. 4 about 26 years ago, State waste lands were granted as village Commons equivalent to the aggregate cultivated land of each village, with the same rights as the landholders enjoyed in respect of their existing holdings. Even after the First Regular Settlement many estates were sold to speculators or given over to those who were prepared to meet the land revenue demand in cases where default was made by actual cultivators, and the right to own land was recognised as that of the revenue payer as against the actual cultivator who defaulted. The non-cultivating land-owners leased out their interests and the middlemen leased it out in turn, creating a long chain of rent receivers and rent payers who intervened between the State and the actual cultivators.

"It will thus be seen that a substantial portion of the landed property came to be owned from such land as well as property of the State before and in every case the acquisition of land was free from any encumbrance or payment of any consideration."

ERRATA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
2	39	delete , after	Buddhism
8	11	, after who	
13	2	Yellow plush	Yellowplush
17	8	Tsiang	Tsang
19	21	Jarasand	Jarasingh
29	20	Pratapadity	Pratapaditya
,,	39	Tapida	Tarapida
30	11	Victory	victory
,,	24	the	be
31	1	, after bracket	
32	2	279	779
,,	12	Mahabhashva	Mahabhashya
33	3	Kshatrivas	Kshatriyas
,,	22	,,	,,
,,	25	wastern	western
,,	33	read , after Surya	
34	3	read , after water	
,,	11	delete	men
,,	17	Hazra	Hazara
,,	36	interier	interior
35	1	Tantrains	Tantrins
,,	7	read , at the end	
,,	18	read , after Rome	
,,	27	read "	before I
,,	11	read , after but	
,,	35	way	why
,,	37	read , after well	
36	22	delete , after had	
,,	28	delete , after had	
,,	35	read , after coins	
37	24	Survamati	Suryamati
,,	34	read , after son	
,,	,,	delete , after Dev	
,,	36	like	Like
38	5	Survamati	Suryamati
,,	19	delete bracket after 647	
,,	38	Kalijnar	Kalinjar
39	10	, after	father
,,	17	,,	,,
,,	34	Calipha	Caliph
40	27	fornight	fortnight
41	22	Historial	Historical
,,	40	as	at
42	21	bibery	bribery
43	16	commited	committed
,,	24	forgotton	forgotten
44	18	therioufs	the various
,,	24	sorcey	sorcery
,,	38	mathmatics	mathematics
47	22	blank	Shahmir (after Kashmir)
50	43	, after	Kashmir
51	8	Bijbtiharal	Bijbihara
,,	11	from	for
,,	15	Mohamud	Mohammad
		Himdani	Hamdani
,,	28	moment	movement
52	29	builts	built
,,	33	delete , after prince	
53	42	Jaham-Adl	jahan-adl
54	17	combind	combined
57	37	Gaurimaga	Gaurimarg
58	9	later	latter
,,	23	Pandrethon	Pandrethan
,,	37	1572	1569
59	28	, after bracket	not before
,,	34	on	no
60	11	4892	4822
,,	20	memery	memory
,,	25	Killed	killed
,,	41	,	.
62	31	,	.
63	10	"Raja	Raja
,,	13	, after bracket	not before

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
66	39	stealthly	stealthily
68	18	fredom	freedom
70	13	positian	position
,,	33	Gave	gave
72	1	Abdullah	Abdul
,,	6	of	off
,,	30	their	there
73	11	in	In
77	19	read . after Singh	
,,	20	delete , after succeeded	
78	11	joinded	joined
,,	38	earilest	earliest
82	17	Pannikar	Panıkkar
83	12	retarted	retarded
,,	25	setting	settling
85	13	(after sale")	
,,	18	ancė	tance
,,	21	Heney	Henry
87	20	hire	heir
88	41	hamadan	Hamadan
90	31	needlewhole	needlehole
92	8	Henble	Hon'ble
94	12	seige	siege
,,	13	(, after Infantry)	
95	39	is under construction	has been constructed
,,	39	wlll go	goes
97	16	read , after Aman	
98	21	read , after Kashmir	
,,	28	delete , after 1842	
101(i)	20	on kong	On-kong's
104	32	subject	subjects
,,	36	women	woman
108	38	Napolean	Napoleon
109	5	read , after Yarkand	
110	20	read , after Punjab	
,,	29	graph	garh
111	10	Partap	Pratap
,,	32	delete , after Purans	
,,	39	in	is

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
113	23	1941	1951
115	5	read , before	Basantpur
116	30	read ,	after Nishat
117	43	soldier	soldiers
126	33	drawers	drawyers ?
,,	40	platform	platforms
127	11	advite	advice
,,	14	delete , after	Patent
131	32	form	forms
,,	39	sphers	spheres
133	12	resistence	resistance
,,	14	,,	,,
134	25	delete , after will	
135	9	barvely	bravely
136	7	read . after her	
137	23	Simiti	Samiti
138	37	latter	later
139	6	inspird	inspired
,,	11	then	than
,,	37	Jama	Jamia
140	12	constituent	Constituent
,,	36	Muslim	Muslims
,,	,,	Pandit	pandits
143	32	delete , after solidly	
145	3	read , after Dev	
,,	33	fore	for
147	36	Parished	Parishad
148	14	read , after was	
149	6	read ,	before reduction
,,	28	teachers	teacher's
151	14	hight	high
,,	38	delete , after Singh	
152	19	worker	workers
,,	31	delete last word old	
153	2	read , after India	
154	34	read , after folk	
,,	43	Place	place
155	26	read ,	after this
157	7	Issue	issue
,,	14	delete , after 1956	
158	22	Gulam	Ghulam

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
159	17	for	far
,,	20	delete , after 1956	
,,	30	form	from
160	5	Public	public
,,	34	independent	Independent
162	34	Parished	Parishad
,,	35	-units	-unist
164	34	Abdulla's	Abdullah's
166	37	Hazaratbal	Hazratbal
169	7	while	white
,,	12	Youth	youth
,,	22	ands	and
,,	27	in	on
,,	30	delete of after Rule	
173	3	Public	public
,,	8	colse	close
,,	29	kadal	Kadal
,,	40	Success	success
174	25	delete , after State	
175	24	gathrings	gatherings
,,	26	delete , after bowl	
176	32	lakh	lakhs.
,,	32	milky	milk
177	1	read —	before one
182	7	army	enemy
,,	28	Britains	Britain's
184	16	Second	second
,,	26	posible	possible
185	9	muslim	Muslim
186	13	Second	second
188	3	read	3rd for 3rd
,,	22	states	state's
,,	30	frezing	freezing
189	22	read , after project	
,,	23	read , before was	
190	19	Allotments	Allotment
191	37	states	state's
192	4	read " after respected	
,,	17	read " before Jammu	
,,	19	States	State's
193	3	Bouns	Bonus
,,	27	read , before total	
194	8	Chanar	Chinar
,,	14	tailors	tailor's
,,	21	magnificant	magnificent
,,	36	unilatered	unilateral
195	5	in	on
196	23	nations	nations'
197	28	30	31
,,	29	and	a
,,	30	Jeep	jeep
,,	,,	read a after and	
198	39	Subject,	Subjects'
199	23	Tape	tap
204	10	provision	provisions
209	12	delete , after others	
,,	15	delete , after Ladakh	
210	6	delete , after Lang	
,,	31	Gvernor	Governor
214	7	chracater	character
,,	11	extermely	extremely
,,	20	Poetry	poetry
,,	35	delete . after Jews	
,,	,,	Just	just
,,	38	is	it
115	30	Mohammedan	Mohemmadan
217	26	Surf	Serf
,,	30	surival	survival
220	29	Asok's	Asoka's
221	12	conduet	conduct
223	11	months	month
224	19	delete , after B.C.	
,,	24	Bhadun	Bahadun
230	17	traditions	tradition
232	17	read a between is and fine	
236	7	Narpristan	Narparistan
238	17	read , before his	
239	12	countcy	country
240	18	emona-	emana-

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct	Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
241	4	dance	dence	254	12	Shamin	Shamim
,,	11	delete , after him and him after give		255	3	Vijwan	Vijwaru
				,,	40	Naudagewun	Nendagewun
243	3	presents'	presents,	263	11	Jouanery	Journey
249	8	whre	where	,,	22	Trevels	Travels
250	22	folk	folks	270	17	representative	representatives
,,	37	Every	Every	277	36	doen	done
253	10	division	divisions				

